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Representation of a Pageant Vehicle at the time of Performance.

Designed & Engraved by David Jee.

Published by Merridew & Son, Coventry 1825.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

PAGEANTS OR DRAMATIC MYSTERIES

Anciently performed at Coventry,

BY

THE TRADING COMPANIES OF THAT CITY;

CHIEFLY WITH REFERENCE TO

THE VEHICLE, CHARACTERS, AND DRESSES OF THE ACTORS.

COMPILED, IN A GREAT DEGREE, FROM SOURCES HITHERTO UNEXPLORED.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, THE

Pageant of the Shearmen & Taylors' Company,

AND OTHER MUNICIPAL ENTERTAINMENTS OF A PUBLIC NATURE.

BY

THOMAS SHARP.

"Et crescunt media PEGMATA celsa via."—Mart. Spect. Epig. 2, v. 2.

Coventry:

PUBLISHED BY MERRIDEW AND SON;

SOLD ALSO BY

HARDING, TRIPHOOK, AND LEPARD; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN;

NICHOLS AND SON, LONDON: AND J. MERRIDEW, WARWICK.

MDCCCXXV.

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Merridew and Son, Coventry.

TO

FRANCIS DOUCE, ESQ. F.A.S.

AND HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ARTS, AND BELLES LETTRES, OF CAEN,

WITH PECULIAR FITNESS,

AS REGARDS THE SUBJECT,

AND IN TESTIMONY OF THE MANY OBLIGATIONS,

LITERARY AND PERSONAL,

CONFERRED UPON THE WRITER,

The following Pages

ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

INTRODUCTION.

In submitting this Volume to the public eye, the Author cannot but avail himself of the opportunity it affords him, of expressing his thanks to the following Gentlemen, whose encouragement stimulated and cheered his labours; namely:

To Francis Douce, Esq. for the loan of several ancient prints and drawings, and for various interesting remarks:

To Dawson Turner, Esq. for much friendly advice, and the liberal contribution of two plates:

To Hudson Gurney, Esq. M.P. for permission to copy the Stage-directions to the Morality of the Castle of Good Perseverance, in his possession; and to Francis Palgrave, Esq. for his kind services, both in obtaining that permission, and supplying a fac-simile of the original:

To James Heywood Markland, Esq. for the communication of an unpublished transcript of Archdeacon Rogers' account of the Chester Plays:

To the Rev. John Brickdale Blakesway, of Shrewsbury, and the Rev. James Yates, of Birmingham, for literary aid:

And, lastly, to his excellent friend, William Hamper, Esq. for his constant and highly-valuable assistance during the entire progress of the work.

THOMAS SHARP.

Coventry, Midsummer Eve, 1825.

*** It is a tribute justly due to the talents and modest ingenuity of the young Artist of this City who executed all the Engravings on Copper, with the exception of plates 4 and 5, to state, that the designs for the Wood Cuts, as well as the elaborate Frontispiece, are entirely of his composition. Such abilities entitle, and will recommend him, to notice.

INTRODUCTION.

DISSERTATION

ON

The Pageants, or Dramatic Mysteries,

ANCIENTLY PERFORMED AT COVENTRY.

IT is remarkable that while the history of the English Stage has been investigated with a perseverance and minuteness of research, which scarcely leaves an expectation of any additional facts or illustrations remaining to be discovered; our Religious Dramas or Mysteries, the unquestionable groundwork of the Stage, have been treated in a very superficial and unsatisfactory manner.

Hawkins, in his Origin of the English Drama, gave the first entire specimen of these Mysteries, by printing Parfre's Candlemas Day, and which, until of late years, was the only one that had been committed to the press; but he merely names the Coventry and Chester Mysteries in a note; whilst in Dodsley's Old Plays, they are scarcely brought forward, instead of taking the lead, as they should have done, in one or both of these publications.

The ardent spirit of enquiry into our national antiquities, which so peculiarly characterises the present times, seems to promise that this much neglected portion of them will ere long receive the notice it deserves; and indeed an earnest has already been given in the specimen of the Chester Mysteries, printed in 1818 by Mr. Markland, for the members of the Roxburghe Club; for notwithstanding this

elegant volume is so limited in the number of copies, as to render it in a great measure unavailable to the public, yet all who have had an opportunity of perusing the highly ingenious Introduction to the two Mysteries selected for publication, (which has been subsequently inserted by Mr. Boswell in his edition of Malone's Shakspeare,) will perceive how very capable that gentleman is of giving, not only "an history of the origin and progress of Religious Dramas in Europe, with a view to ascertain, if possible, the precise period of their introduction into this country;" but also an "account of the several series of Mysteries acted at York, Coventry, and other places:" an undertaking which it is greatly to be wished Mr. Markland will accomplish with all practicable celerity, and thus complete the plan he has so successfully commenced. The writer of the present Dissertation, having in the course of acquiring materials for the history of his native City, examined the ancient Books and Documents belonging to the Corporation, and the remaining Account Books and other writings of the Trading Companies, has thereby been enabled to collect a considerable body of information respecting the Pageants or Mysteries formerly exhibited in Coventry, tending more particularly to elucidate the management, machinery, dresses, characters, and internal economy of these performances; which, in aid of a systematic history of our national Mysteries, he flatters himself will be acceptable to the investigators of ancient manners and customs, and not uninteresting to the more general reader: though its chief importance, perhaps, will be found in the means it supplies for filling up, in some degree, an acknowledged defect in the accounts of the early English Stage, at present before the public.

No two writers have hitherto agreed as to the derivation of the word Pageant [a], which in the first instance was certainly applied to the Vehicle of Exhibition, and afterwards to the Exhibition itself. The celebrated Cart of Thespis seems to

[a] Minshew says, "forte *a Page*, à G. Παις, i. puer, quod παιδες, i. pueri ornati castellis imponuntur," &c. &c.

Skinner, after noticing Minshew's derivation, proceeds, "Mallem à Gr. Παγω, Πηγνυμι, Πηγμα; vel, quod mihi præ cæteris arridet, à Belg. Waeghen, Teut. Wagen, Currus, q. d. Currus Pompaticus."

Bailey thinks it not improbably derived of Wagen, &c. as supposed by Skinner.

Johnson writes, "Of this word the etymologists give no satisfactory account. It may perhaps be *payen geant*, a *pagan giant*, a representation of triumph used at return from holy wars; as we have yet the Saracen's head."

H. Tooke views *pageant*, as merely the present participle *paecceand*, of A. S. *peacan*, to deceive. *Pacheand*, *Pacheant*, *Pageant*. *Diversions of Purley*, p. 370.

Todd repeats the extraordinary conjecture of Dr. Johnson, and adds Tooke's opinion as given above.

Jamieson, in his Scottish Dictionary, gives two instances of the use of the word:—"Padyane" by Dunbar, and "Padgean" by Knox, and recites Tooke's derivation without offering any comment or opinion of his own.

have been its prototype, and without embarrassing the subject by an elaborate disquisition, we shall probably arrive at a satisfactory conclusion by attending to the particulars of a Machine in common use amongst the Greeks and Romans, called the *Pegma;* an ornamented wooden structure, with actors and scenery, carried about in Processions of a triumphal nature.[b] Josephus mentions the Πηγματα introduced in the Procession of Titus to the Capitol,[c] whereon were represented by actors and appropriate scenery, the principal events of the War: "the *Pageants* (as Lodge calls them in his translation,[d]) that were borne in that "triumph were of an admirable bigness, so that the people that beheld them, "wondered how it was possible that men should carry them, for many were "builded with 3 or 4 lofts, one above the other, &c." This clearly identifies them with our Pageants; and it appears no less certain, that *Pegma and Pageant are from the same root*, a root which is the origin of a multitude of words in the Greek, Latin, English, and Sanscrit languages, and, generally speaking, in all the languages allied to them. They appear, however, to be different *inflections* of this root. The following exposition of their Etymology has been contributed by a learned friend:—"*Pegma* is formed according to a regular analogy, being "referable to Πεπηγμα, Perf. Passive, from Πηγνυμι. It would be applicable to any "thing *consisting of parts compacted.* I apprehend that *Pageant* was formed "according to another analogy, equally regular, though its traces are not so "numerous and distinct. It is true, that the termination *and, ant, end, ent,* "usually forms a Participle *Active*: but that this termination was also used to "form Participles *Passive,* is evident from the Participles in *andus, endus,* &c. in "Latin, and still more clearly from the Participle of the Aorist (1st and 2d) "Passive in Greek, of which the only constituent part is ENT, forming by the "usual accessories and transmutations, *Nomin.*—εἰς—εισα—εν; *Genit.* εντος—εισης—εντος. "Reduced to its primitive and simple state, the Partic. 2d Aorist Passive of Πηγνυμι "would be Παγεντ, (in English letters *Pagent*) having precisely the same meaning "with Πηγμα, or *Pegma.*[e]" This deduction is strongly confirmed by the Latin appellation of *Pagentus* given to the 12th subject in the Ludus Coventriæ; thus:—

"Hic intrabit *pagentus* de purgatione Mariæ et Joseph."

[b] See Lipsius de Amphitheatro, cap. 22, Stephens, and the passages of authors cited by him.

[c] De Bello Jud. lib. VII. c. 5. p. 1306, ed. Hudson.

[d] So Barret in his Alvearie, *Pegma,* "a stage, scaffold, or frame, whereon *pageants* be set and carried:" with which the Bibliotheca Eliotæ agrees; as does Cotgrave in his French and English Dictionary, under the word *Pegmate,* "a stage or frame whereon *Pageants* be set or carried.

[e] In Ben Jonson's Entertainment of King James I. in passing to his Coronation through the City of London,

The following spellings occur in the different Coventry MSS. that have been consulted :—

pachand.
padgen, padgeant
pagant, pagante, pagantte.
pagen, pagent, pagente, pageand, pageant, pageaunt, pageunt.
pagiant, pagiaunt, pagiand.
pagyn, pagyaunt.
pajant, pajaunte, pajent, pajont.
paygaunt.

In the Ludus Coventriæ, the Vexillators say "in þ^e fyrst *pagend*," &c.

Coventry has acquired no common degree of celebrity from its Pageants and Religious Mysteries, the public representations of which drew immense multitudes to the City; and even some of our Sovereigns with their chief Nobility, have thought them of sufficient interest to witness the performances, and to make express visits for that purpose.[f] In 1416 Henry V. and his nobles (say our MS. Annals,) took great delight in seeing the Pageants; and in 1456, "On "Corpus Christi yeven at nyght came the quene [Margaret] from Kelyngworth "to Coventre, at which tyme she wold not be met, but came p?vely to se the "play there on the morowe, and she sygh then alle the pagentes pleyde save "domes day, which might not be pleyde for lak of day, and she was loged at "Richard Wodes the groc^r, where Ric: Sharp sometyme dwelled, and there all "the pleys were furst pleyde, and there were with her then these lordes and "ladyes that here folowen, that is to sey, the duke of Bukkyngham & my lady "his wyff & all ther children, the lord Re?s & my lady hys wyff, the lady of "shrowesbery the elder and the lady of shrowesbery the younger, with other mony "moo lordes & ladyes."—(Leet Book fo. 174.) Richard III. in 1484, came to see

A.D. 1603, a large booth or Pageant was erected at Fen Church, measuring 50 feet in the perpendicular, and the same in the ground line, in which "the scene presented itself like to the side of a city: the top thereof adorned with houses, towers, and steeples, set off in prospective," with the word LONDINIUM upon the battlements.—"In the centre, or midst of the *Pegme*, there was an aback or square, wherein this elogy was written: "Maximus hic rex est, &c. This, and the whole frame, was covered with a curtain of silk, painted like a thick "cloud, and at the approach of the king was instantly to be drawn."

Another example of the use of *Pegma* will be found in a subsequent extract from an account of the spectacles prepared at Antwerp in 1594, when the Archduke Ernest visited that City.

[f] Beside the Corpus Christi Plays, many instances occur of Pageants exhibited on occasion of Royal Visits to the City, appropriate to the Personages so received, and of these some account will be found in a subsequent division of the present work.

the Corpus Christi Plays. In 1486 Henry VII. was present at the performance of the Pageants on St. Peter's day, and much commended them; and in 1492 again visited the City with his Queen, to see the Plays acted by the *Grey Friers*. Before the suppression of the Monasteries, the Grey Friers[g] of Coventry were particularly celebrated for their exhibitions on Corpus Christi day; their Pageants, (saith Dugdale, p. 116, Edit. 1656.) "being acted with mighty State "and Reverence by the Friers of this House, had Theaters for the severall "Scenes, very large and high, placed upon Wheels, and drawn to all the emi- "nent Parts of the City, for the better Advantage of Spectators: And contain'd "the Story of the Old and New Testament, composed in the old English Rithme, "as appeareth by an antient MS. (in Bibl. Cotton, Vesp. D. VIII.) intituled "*Ludus Corporis Christi*, or *Ludus Coventriæ*. I have been told by some old "people, who in their younger years were eye-witnesses of these *Pageants* so "acted, that the yearly confluence of people to see that shew was extraordinary "great, and yielded no small advantage to this City."

With the dissolution of the Monastery of Grey Friers, it should seem all the records of their celebrated Pageants were lost or destroyed, since the only memorials transmitted to posterity appear to be Sir Wm. Dugdale's account above recited, and the solitary mention in one MS. (not older than the *beginning* of Cha. I.'s reign) of Henry VIIth's visit to the City in 1492, "to see the Plays acted by the Grey Friers." No doubt can be entertained of the accuracy of Dugdale's statement, because, in addition to his known correctness, he had particular advantages in collecting materials for his History of Coventry and obtaining oral information, arising from a residence of about five years during his education at the Free School there, as well as from the circumstance of his only Sister marrying the Son of Alderman Henry Seawell, of Coventry. It is not equally clear that the Cottonian MS. Vesp. D. VIII. was the particular property of these Grey Friers, or contains a transcript of the Religious plays exhibited by them; but this will better be understood from the following description of that document, and observations upon it. The MS. which appears to have been written about the period of Henry VI. or Edward IV., is a small 4to of 225 leaves, and contains about 28 lines in each page; on the first leaf is written by

[g] A Frier Minor in Pierce Plowman's Creed, however, is made to say—

"We haunten no taverns, ne hobelen about,
"At markets and *Miracles* we meddle us never."

Dr. Smith (Sir Rob. Cotton's Librarian), "*Ludus*[h] *Coventriæ sive ludus Corporis Xti:*" on the next leaf in a hand of about the time of Queen Eliz. "*The plaie called Corpus Christi,*" and in the printed Catalogue of the Cottonian MSS. published in 1696 by Dr. Smith, it is thus described:[i] "A collection of Plays, in old "English metre: *h. e.* Dramata sacra, in quibus exhibentur historiæ veteris & N. "Testamenti, introductis quasi in scenam personis illic memoratis, quas secum "invicem colloquentes pro ingenio fingit Poeta. Videntur olim coram populo, sive ad instruendum sive ad placendum, à Fratribus mendicantibus repræsentata." The arguments in favour of appropriating this MS. to the Grey Friers of Coventry are as follows:—In 1538 that Monastery was dissolved, and Sir Rob. Cotton, who was born in 1570, commenced the formation of his collection so early as 1588, and died in 1631. Dugdale was born in the year 1605, began to collect materials for his History of Warwickshire about 1630, was introduced to Sir Thos. Cotton and the Cottonian MSS. in 1638, and printed his "Warwickshire" in 1656, wherein, as is seen in the preceding extract, he mentions having conversed with old people who had been eye-witnesses of the Grey Friers Pageants, a circumstance which might have happened between 1615 and 1620, when he was at the Coventry Free School. Sir Robt. Cotton beginning to collect his MSS. 50 years after the dissolution of the Grey Friers, it may reasonably be imagined that on procuring the Corpus Christi Plays, some account of them and their former possessors would be obtained, and hence we may conceive arose their appropriation to Coventry, under the title of "Ludus Coventriæ;" which title they evidently had at the time when Dugdale consulted the MS. and from the known industry of Sir William, his particular connection with Coventry, and his conversations with old persons actual witnesses of the Grey Friars Plays, it may with equal reason be inferred that he would make some enquiries, both at Sir Thomas Cotton's and at Coventry, respecting the identity of so curious a document. Perhaps we ought not to insist upon the account of Queen Margaret's visit to Coventry in 1456 before given, as affording any argument for the identity of the Cottonian MS. and the Coventry Plays, because the pageants then exhibited are

[h] That Coventry was *peculiarly* celebrated for the Corpus Christi Plays is evident from the following lines in Heywood's old Interlude of the 4 Ps.

"For as good hap would have it chaunce,
This devil and I were of olde acquaintance;
For oft, in the play of Corpus Christi,
He hath play'd the devil at Coventrie."

[i] Very incorrectly, since it is a *series* rather than a *Collection*: but this error is amended in the new Catalogue.

not *expressly* said to be performed by the Grey Friars, and "domesday" being the usual concluding portion of the Corpus Christi Plays, which were by no means peculiar to Coventry. Against the foregoing hypothesis, it has been objected that the conclusion of the prologue—

"A Sunday next yf þ^{t} we may
"At VI of þ^{e} belle we gynne our play
"In N. town wherfor we pray
"That God now be your spede. Amen."

indicates a series of plays for exhibition at Corpus Christi festival *generally*, rather than expressly for Coventry, N. *(nomen)* being the usual mode of distinguishing a person or place under such circumstances, as N. stands in the marriage ceremony unto this day: and that at all events if the Plays in question were performed at Coventry, they were not *peculiar* to that place. It is also objected that Dr. Smith was not very accurate in his conception and description of various MSS.; and lastly that there is great reason to believe the MS. alluded to came from *Durham* and not from *Coventry*.

Such is the state of the question, after considerable pains taken to investigate the subject, and the reader must draw his own conclusion as to the probability of these Plays being really the "Ludus Coventriæ," and appertaining to the Grey Friers: for they certainly were *no part of the Plays or Pageants exhibited by the Trading Companies of the City*. It may be here observed that the exhibition of these Religious Mysteries at Corpus Christi season was very general throughout the kingdom in Cities and Towns,[k] both by the Monks[l] and the Laity

[k] Stowe relates, that in 1409, there was a play at Skinners Hall, which lasted eight days; the subject was the Scriptures from the Creation of the World. Weever also says that he had seen Corpus Christi Plays acted at Preston, Lancaster, and Kendal. Fun. Mon. 405.

They were performed at Dublin (see Gent. Mag. Feb. 1804,) at Chester, York, and other places.

[l] There can be little doubt of the fact that the *Mysteries* originated with the ecclesiastics, and for a time were performed exclusively by them: such amongst other instances was the case with the play of St. Catherine at Dunstable in the 11th century, which was exhibited by the Novices of that Priory, under the superintendence of a Parisian Monk; and in France a similar practice prevailed. Indeed, the illiterate condition of the laity in general, rendered this at first almost a measure of necessity; but there is reason to believe that in the Religious Pageants afterwards exhibited by the trading companies, the performers were laymen, as was certainly the case at Coventry. The regulations of Card. Wolsey for the Canons Regular of St. Austin in 1519, forbid the members to be "*lusores aut mimici*," though this is understood to mean only that they were not to exercise these arts abroad for secular or mercenary views: but Bonner in 1542 issued a proclamation to the Clergy, prohibiting "all manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, "chapels, &c." and in 1589 an injunction, made in the Mexican Council, was ratified at Rome, which prohibited

—that in their composition they greatly resemble each other, and if not abstracted from the French Mysteries (as some have supposed) with such additions and variations as is usual on such occasions, certainly are much like them, as a comparison with several existing in a printed form will shew.

Whatever may be left for conjecture respecting the Grey Friers' Pageants, abundance of evidence remains as to the Plays and Pageants exhibited by the *Companies* in Coventry preserved in the ancient Leet Book, and the Books of Accounts, Records, &c. of the several companies from which the following account (with the exception of the first item) is derived :—

Anno 1416,[m] 4 Hen. V.—"The Pageants and Hox tuesday invented, wherein the "King and Nobles took great delight. *MS. Annals.*

1428.—"Hit is to have in mynde that at a lete holden atte fest seynt Mich[?] the 3er off kyng herr[?] the sixt the vij the smythes of Coventre put up a bille foloweng in thes wordes. To you full wurshipfull Meir Recordour Bayles & to all your discrete counsell shewen to you the crafte of Smythes how thei were discharged of the cotelers pachand be alete in the tyme of John Gote then meire [1414] & quytances made be twene the forseid craftes eder to oder lik as hit is well knowen & redy for to shewe and nowe late Giles Allesley in his office of meyralte [1426] preyed the forseid craft of Smythes to take the govñaunce of the seid pachand as for his tyme & no forther. And the seid craft did hit wilfully to his plesaunce for the whiche cause the forseid pachand is yete put to the forseid craft, & thei han no mañ[r] of dute to tak hit to hem Whyche thei beseche that ye of your grete goodnes discharge the forseid craft of Smythes of the pachand atte revẽñce of God & of Truthe and orden hit elles where ye ben better avised be your good discression.

"The whiche bull be the avise of all the wurthy of the seid lete and all oder upon the same lete beeng was onswered & endõsed in this wise. Hit is ordeyned that the Smythes shull ocupie the seid pachand forthe evy yere apon the payne of x[li] to be payed at evy defaute to the use of the chambur." *Leet Book, fo.* 45, *b.*

all clerks from *playing* in the Mysteries on Corpus Christi day.—Warton says, that the choristers or elemosinary boys of Maxstoke Priory acted a play every year.

[m] This date must be erroneous; the Drapers' Company having a Pageant House as early as 1392, in which year a tenement in Little Park street is in the Cartulary of St. Mary's, fo. 85, b. described to be situated "int' ten' P[i]or' & Con.[tus] ex p'te una & domu' p' *le pagent pannar*' Coventre ex alt'a."

1434.—"The orden that the Sadelers and the peyntours of the City off Coventre be ffro this tyme fforward contrebetory unto þ^e paiont [pageant] off the Cardemakers and that þey paye as the Cardemakers don yerly uppon þ^e peyne of C.^s to be payd to þ^e use off þ^e chamburlens." *Leet Book.*

1435.—"Thei will þ^t the carpynt̃s be associate unto þ^e Tilers & pynñs to maynten h^r pagent and h^r lyvẽy þ^t now is & that the maio^r call the substance of the Crafte of Carpynt̃s and sett hem to geþ^r as one felawshipẽ. *idem.*

1440[n].—"Ordinatũ est quod Robertus Gñe & om̃es alii qui ludunt in festo Corporis xp̄i bene & sufficient̃ ludant ita quod nulla impedic̃o fiat in aliquo Joco sub pẽ xx^s cujusl̃t deficient̃ ad usus mur̃ levandum per majorem & Cam̃ar̃ : &c." *idem.*

1443.—Cardmakers, Sadlers, Masons, and Painters, to be one Company as heretofore, and mutually to contribute to their Pageant. *idem.*

1459.—"Also hit is ordeyned þ^t ev̄y Craft þ^t hath pagant to pley in, that þ^e pagant be made redy & brought furth to pley uppon þ^e peyn of C.^s to be reased of iiij maisters of the Crafts þ^t so offend." *idem.*

1476.—"Hit is ordened at this p̣sent leete that ev̄y Crafte w^t in this Cite com w^t their pageaunts accordyng as hit haith byn of olde tyme and to com w^t their p̣cessions & Ridyngs also when the byn required by the Meir for the worship of the Cite in peyne of x^li at ev̄y defalt. *idem.*

1490.—"This year was the play of St. Katherine in the little Park." *MS. Annals.*

1492.—"Also hit is ordeyned þ^t þ^e Chaundelers & Cooks of þ^is Cite shall be con-t̄butory to þ^e Smythes of þ^is Cite & to pay ȝerely towards þ^e charge of ther p̣ste & pageant ev̄y Chaundeler & Cooke ij^s." *Leet Book.*

1494.—An order of Leet, the preamble of which states that all should contribute their *due share* towards the public expences of the City—recites, that divers charges for Pageants, &c. to the worship of the same have been borne by sundry Crafts which, at the commencement of such charges, were more wealthy and more in number than they now are; that several Crafts are not so charged, viz. Dyers, Skinners, Fishmongers, Cappers, Corvysers, Butchers, and others. It is therefore ordained that the Mayor and 8 of his councel shall have authority to join all such Crafts to those that are overburthened with the said Pageants, with power to levy penalties in case of refusal. *idem.*

[n] Query, does this order relate to servants of the *Corporation?* and if so, does it show that *they* exhibited *Pageants* at Corpus Christi, or is it only connected with the Procession on that day?

1494.—" Also it is ordeyned at þe request of þe Inh^{a}tunts dwellyng in Gosseford strete that þe pageants ȝerely frohensfurth be sette & stande at þe place ther of olde tyme used & lymyt appoynted, uppon payn of ev^{a}y Crafte þt doth to þe contrary to lese at ev^{a}y defalt vj^{s} viij^{d} to þe use of þe Citie. *Leet Book.*

An act of this Leet referring to the order made in the preceding year, ordains (in consequence of divers self-willed persons hindering the execution of the said order) that all manner of persons exercising any Craft within the City, and not bearing any yearly charge that is had in *worship of the said City*, as *Pageants* and such like, shall by the feast of St. Martin join themselves, or be contributory to some Craft that is so charged, on pain of 100s. for the first refusal, £10. at the second, and 20 Marks for the 3rd.

" Memorandum. þt the ffeliship & mysterye of Bochers in Coventr^{a} remembryng þe ordenũnce lately made by Auctorite of lete, callyng also to theyr mynde the olde acqueynt^{a}nce & amyte þt of long tyme hath bẽ & contynued betwixt them & þe ffeliship of Whittawers be measne of entc̃ours & of bying & sellyng whech be ov^{a}charged to the charg̃s above rehersed," agree to contribute 16s. 8d. annually towards their Pageant. *idem.*

1495.—The Cardmakers petition that the Craft of Skinners and Barkers may annually pay 13s. 4d. towards the charge of their Pageants, which was ordained accordingly. *idem.*

In like manner it is ordained on petition of the Wrights, Tylers, and Pynners, that certain persons named shall contribute towards their Pageant as other Wrights do on pain of 6s. 8d. *idem.*

Also the Girdlers put in a Bill at this Leet, shewing that the Crafts of Cappers and Fullers of their good will were agreeable to pay yearly 13s. 4d. towards the charge of their Priest and Pageant, and it was ordained accordingly with penalties for non-performance. *idem.*

1504-5.$_{o}$—" This Yeare they played the play of St. Crytyan in the little parke." *MS. Annals, Codex Hales.*

1506.—" Mẽ$^{d.}$ þt it is ordeyned at this lete that the Craft & ffeliship of Bakers shalbe contributories & charged from hensforth w^{t} the Craft & ffeliship of Smythes, and to pay yerely to them toward theyre pagent at Corpus xp̄i tyde xiij^{s} iiij^{d} and so to contynewe from hensfurth yerely."

In like manner the Corvysers to pay 13s. 4d. annually to the Tanners Pageant, and the Butchers 16s. 8d. to the Whittawers; each at Corpus xp̄i. *id*

$_{o}$ Vide ante. 1490. Query, if this last account is not erroneous?

1519.—"New Plays at Corpus xp̄i tyde wch were greatly commended." *MS. Ann.* ? Leet Book

1519-20.[p]—"In that year was new playes at Corpus Christityd wch playes were greatly comended." *idem, Codex Hales.*

1523.—Shoemakers to pay the Tanners 6s. 8d. at Corpus xp̄i as of old. *idem.*

1526.—Enacted that all Carvers within the City be associate with the Craft of Painters, and dismissed from the Carpenters, and pay 12d. each person annually towards the Painters Pageant. *idem.*

1530.—Cappers discharged of an annual payment to the Girdlers of 6s. 8d. towards their Pageant. *idem.*

1531.—Barbers to pay 6s. 8d. annually to the Girdlers instead of Cardmakers, towards their Pageant and Processions; Walkers also to pay 6s. 8d. and Skinners 5s. annually to the Weavers Pageant. *idem.*

1532.—Painters henceforth to pay the 8s. which they yearly contributed to a Pageant, in equal portions of 4s. each to the Girdlers and Cardmakers. *idem.*

1533.—Enacted, that such persons as are not associate or assistant to any Craft which is charged with a Pageant, such as Fishmongers, Bowyers, Fletchers, & others, shall now be associate or assistant to such Crafts as the Mayor shall assign. *idem.*

1537.[q]—"It? wher?as the Meire Aldermen Beilleffs & Coĩalte of this Citie by ther wrytyng indented & seilled w^t their cõen Seall have g^aunted given & dyvysed unto þ^e M^r kep?s fra?nite & company of the Craft of Capp?s of this Citie The Chappell Pagyaunt & pagyaunt house which was latelie surrendered & given upp by wrytyng to theme by the ffra?nitie & company of Cardemakers and Sadelers. It is nowe enacted by Auctoritie of this lete that the seid fra?nitie & company of Capp?s shall enjoy the seid pagiaunt pagiaunt house & chap?ell accordyng to the teno^r of the seid wrytyng indented &c." *idem.*

1547.—"It is also enacted that the Cowp?s of this Citie shall frome hensfurth be associat w^t the Tilers & pynners and bere suche charges as thei have doon in tymes past And that the Cowp?s shalbe the hedd & cheffest of theim & stand charged w^t the pagyaunt." *idem.*

1561.—"This year was Hox tuesday put down." *MS. Annals.*

1575, Thomas Nicklyn Mayor.—"This yeare the said maior caused hoc twesday

[p] This is not corroborated by the *remaining* Companies Accounts.

[q] In 1531 the Cappers were united with the Cardmakers and Sadlers in the charge of the Pageant, &c. of which they now become sole proprietors.

wherby is mencioned a overthrowe of the Danes by the inhabitants of this Citie to be againe set up and shewed forthe, to his great comẽdacõn and the Cities great comoditie wch said hoc twesday was the yeare before plaide before the Quene at Kenelworth in the tyme of her p^?^gresse by the comãundment of the Quenes Counsell." *MS. Annals, Codex Dugd.*

"This year the Pageants or Hox tuesday that had been laid down 8 years were played again." *MS. Annals.*

1580.—"The Pageants again laid down." *idem.*

1584.—"This year the new Play of the Destruction of Jerusalem was first played." *idem.*

1591, At a Council House held 19th May:—"It is agreed by the whole consent of this house that the destrucõn of Jerusalem, the Conquest of the Danes, or the historie of K. E. the X. [King Edward the Confessor], at the request of the Comons of this Cittie shalbe plaied on the pagens on Midsomer daye & St. Peters daye next in this Cittie & non other playes. And that all the mey poles that nowe are standing in this Cittie shalbe taken downe before whit-sonday next & non hereafter to be sett up in this Cittie." *Com. Council Book.*

It may here be necessary to remark, that there is a confusion in almost all the accounts of the Pageants extracted from the MS. Annals of the City, occasioned by their describing the Pageants and Hox Tuesday as though they were one and the same thing. Thus the accounts sub. ann. 1416, 1575, are correct as applying to the Hox Tuesday shew, but unfounded as referring to the Corpus Christi Pageants. The subject is fully considered in the further progress of this Dissertation, but is now briefly noticed to prevent erroneous ideas at the outset.

By the following article, extracted from one of the MS. copies of our City Annals, it appears that a piece of the common land was enclosed towards defraying certain expences of the Pageants and Midsummer Night Watch, but no other notice of the circumstance has been discovered:—

"On the 1st daye of August 1628 being Lamas daye, certaine of o^r^ poore
"Com'oners rose, and pulled downe the hedges of a peece of the Comon ground
"at whitley at the hether end next to Barnes [Barons] close wch in former tyme
"was inclosed and taken out of the Comons their, to defraye some charges for
"the Pageants playing here in this Cytty, and Midsummer watch, wch said
"Pageants and watch have bine put downe many yeares since, and yett the said
"peece of Com'on ground has remayned severall and inclosed untill now."

The foregoing extracts will serve to show the attention that was paid to the Coventry Pageants, and in some measure account for the great celebrity this City had acquired by such representations. Indeed, it will appear, from subsequent illustrations, that the Inhabitants did not confine themselves to the annual routine of Pageants at Corpus Christi, but sometimes changed the subject of the Pageants exhibited by a particular Company; and, as was hinted in the introductory part of this Essay, several times prepared splendid and appropriate Pageants in honour of their Royal Visitors. Their processions at Corpus Christi season were also very magnificent, as will hereafter be treated of.

A particular History and description of those Pageants which were put forth by the Companies whose ancient Books are yet in existence, shall next be attempted, and considerable light will be thrown on this subject from the very curious and minute entries in the Account Books of the Smiths' and Cappers' Companies.

SMITHS' COMPANY.

The Accounts of this Company commence in 1449, but so early as 1414 they were discharged by Act of Leet of the Cutlers' Pageant—in 1426 again took the government of it; and in 1428 it was by Act of Leet ordered that they should continue to play it, which accordingly they did until 1585, the last year of their exhibiting.[r]

The subject of the Smiths' Pageant was the Trial, Condemnation, and Crucifixion of Christ, as will appear from the following list of Characters, Machinery, &c. collected from various entries of Pageant charges. The dialogue of the Play is lost, as in fact are the play books of all the other Companies except the Shearmen and Taylors, whose Books of Accounts to illustrate the subject of their Play is unfortunately not in existence:—

CHARACTERS IN THE SMITHS' PAGEANT.

God, (sometimes Jesus)	Peter and Malchus
Cayphas	Anna, (sometimes Annas)
Heroude	Pilate
Pilate's Wife [pcula, *i. e.* Procula]	Pilate's Son
The Beadle, (sometimes the Porter)	2 Knights
The Devil	4 Tormentors
Judas	2 Princes—[Anno. 1490 only.]

[r] The Bakers, Chandlers, and Cooks, contributed towards the charges of the Smiths' Pageant.

MACHINERY, &c.

The Cross with a Rope to draw it up and a Curtain hanging before it.
Gilding the Pillar and the Cross.
2 Pair of Gallows
4 Scourges and a Pillar
Scaffold.
Fanes to the Pageant.
Mending of Imagery.—(Occurs 1469.)
A Standard of red Buckram.
Two Red Pensils of Cloth painted and silk Fringe.
Iron to hold up the Streamer.

DRESSES, &c.

4 Gowns and 4 Hoods for the tormentors.—(These are afterwards described as Jackets of black buckram with nails and dice upon them.)—and other 4 gowns with damask flowers; also 2 Jackets party Red & Black.
2 Mitres (for Caiphas and Annas.)
A Rochet for one of the Bishops.
God's Coat of White Leather (6 Skins).
A Staff for the demon.
2 Spears.
Gloves (12 pair at once).
Herod's Crest [Helmet?] of Iron.
Scarlet Hoods and a Tabard.
Hats and Caps—Straw Hats.
Cheverel [chevelure, Peruke] for God.
3 Cheverels and a Beard.
2 Chevels gilt for Jesus and Peter.
Faulchion for Herod (gilt).
Scarlet Gown.
Maces.
Girdle for God.
a newe sudere [the *veronica*] to god vij$^{d.}$
a seldall [settle or seat] for god xij$^{d.}$
Sceptres for Herod and his son.
Poll axe for Pilates Son.

Blue Buckram 5 yds. and 6¾ yds. Sattin purchased in 1501; the latter appears to have been used for Herod's Gown, and most probably the Buckram also. Velvet Hose were sold in 1590 at the breaking up of the Pageant.

MUSIC.

Trumpet (only occurs 1584).
Bagpipe (only occurs 1584).
Minstrells is a common entry, and the Wayts are paid for " piping."

Previous to entering upon the observations and illustrations which this outline of the Smiths' Pageant calls for, it may be proper to give the following Agreement[s] made by the Company in 1452, respecting their Pageant, and a specimen of the annual entries of the expences under that head.

" These men above writen wer acordid & agreed on munday next befor palme sonday Añº H. (6th) xxxj. [1453,] That Thom's Colclow skyñr ffro this day forth shull have þe Rewle of þe pajaunt unto þe end of xij yers next folowing he for to find þe pleyers and all þt longeth þrto all þe seide tm̃e save þe kep of the craft shall let bring forth þe pajant & find Clõyst þt gon abowte þe pajant and find Russhes þrto and evy wytson-weke who þt be keps of þe crafte shall dyne wt Colclow & evy mastr ley down iiijd and Colclow shall have ȝerely ffor his labor xlvjs viijd & he to bring in to þe mastr on sonday next aftr corps xp̃i day þe originallv & ffech his vij nobullez and Colclow must bring in at þe latr end of þe tm̃ez all þe garmets þt longen to þe pajant as good as þey wer delyved to hym. This was ordeyned in þe time of Will? Melody Th? Warñ & Will? byngley þen keps of þe crafte."

SPECIMEN OF THE PAGEANT EXPENCES,

BEING THE ENTRY FOR 1490, VERBATIM.

" This is the expeñs of the furste reherse of our players in ester weke.

Inprimis in Brede····iiijd
Itm̃ in Ale·····viijd
Itm̃ in kechyn ·····xiijd
Itm̃ in Vynegre·····jd Sm̃a ij ijd

s A similar Agreement was made in 1481 with Sewall & Ryngald.

t 1449.—" It' p' cloth to lap abowt pajent payntyng & all—iijs vjd ob."

v 1494. " It' paid to John Harryes for berying of þe Orygynall þt day vjd.—1506. Resevyd amonge bredren and other good ffelowys toward the Orygynall ijs ixd" in sums of 1d. & 2d. each.

This appears to have been the *Play Book*, (see a subsequent Note.)

Itm̃ payd at the Second Reherse in Whyttsonweke in brede Ale & kechyn ij^{s} iiij^{d}
Inp$^{?}$mis for drynkynge at the pagent in havinge forthe in Wyne & ale vij^{d} ob.
Itm̃ in the mornynge at diner and at Sopper in Costs in Brede vij^{d} ob.
Itm̃ for ix galons of Ale.....xviij^{d}
Itm̃ for a Rybbe of befe & j gose .....vj^{d}
Itm̃ for kechyn to deñ^{r} & sopp ..... ·ij^{s} ij^{d}
Itm̃ for a Rybbe of befe .....iij^{d}
Itm̃ for a quarte of wyne .....ij^{d} ob.
Itm̃ for an other quarte for heyrynge of ꝑcula is gowne ij^{d} ob.
Itm̃ for gloves .....ij^{s} vj^{d}
Itm̃ spend at the repellynge$_{w}$ of the pagantte and the expences of havyng it in and furthe ..... ·xiiij^{d}
Itm̃ in paper .....ob. Smã xij^{s} j^{d} ob.

Md̃ payd to the players for corpus xp̄isti daye.
Inprimis to God .....ij^{s}
Itm̃ to Cayphas .....iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm̃ to Heroude ....iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm̃ to Pilatt is wyffe.....ij^{s}
Itm̃ to the Bedull .....iiij^{d}
Itm̃ to one of the Knights .....ij^{s}
Itm̃ to the devyll & to Judas..... xviij^{d}
Itm̃ to Petur & malkus .....xvj^{d}
Itm̃ to Anna .....ij^{s} ij^{d}
Itm̃ to Pilatte .....iiij^{s}
Itm̃ to Pilatte is sonne .....iiij^{d}
Itm̃ to an other knighte.....ij^{s} Smã xxviij^{s} þ^{e} Mynstrell xiiij^{d}

Md̃ that these bene the Garments that wer newe repellyd$_{w}$ a gaynste corpus xp̄i daye.
Inprimis iiij Jakketts of blake bokeram for þ^{e} tormentors w^{t} nayles & dysse upon þem.
Itm̃ other iiij for tormentors of an other suett wythe damaske fflowers.
Itm̃ ij of bokeram w^{t} hamers crowned.[x]
Itm̃ ij ꝑty Jakketts of Rede and blake
Itm̃ a Cloke for pilatte

w *Repairing.* In the Cappers accounts occurs a charge for "mendyng þ^{e} players reparrell"

x The Arms of the Smiths' Company is 3 Hammers Crowned.

Itm̃ a Gowne for pilattes sone
Itm̃ a Gowne for the bedull
Itm̃ a hode for the bedull
Itm̃ twoo Burlettis.[y]
Itm̃ a Creste for heroude.
Itm̃ a Fawchon for heroude
Itm̃ a hatt for pilatte.
Itm̃ a hatt for pilatts sone
Itm̃ ij myters for the bysschoppis
Itm̃ ij hatts for ij princes
Itm̃ iiij hatts for the tormentors
Itm̃ other ij hatts for the tormentors
Itm̃ a poll ax for pilatts sonne
Itm̃ a septur for heroude
Itm̃ a masse
Itm̃ a septur for pilatts sonne
Itm̃ iiij Scorges and a piller
Itm̃ ij Chevels gyld for Jhe & petur
Itm̃ the devyls hede

The somme of all the Costes and workemanschyp & colours drawyth to xv[s]"

An attempt to ascertain the nature of the Pageant Vehicles whereon these Plays were represented will be necessary, in order to comprehend the application of the Machinery and Apparatus, as well as the general manner of performing. Dugdale describes them as "Theatres very large and high, placed upon Wheels," and Archdeacon Rogers, who died 1595, and saw the Whitsun Plays performed at Chester, gives the following minute account of the Pageants and mode of exhibition:—"[z]The maner of these playes weare, every company had his pagiant, or p'te, w[ch] pagiants weare a high scafolde[a] w'th 2 rowmes, a higher and a lower, upon 4 wheeles. In the lower they apparelled themselves, and in the higher rowme they played, beinge all open on the tope, that all behoulders might heare and see

[y] *Bourlet.* A roll or wreath stuffed, for a Female.—Cotgrave.

Stafford Accompts, 8 Hen. VI. "Debent[r]: Mar'gie Chan'bleyne de London Tiremaker p' f'tur' unius Burlet cum j Gower Laces & tassels. vj[li] xiij[s] iiij[d].

[z] Harl. MSS 1948 fol. 48.

[a] We have an early allusion to these vehicles in Chaucer, of whose jolly clerk Absolon he writes

"Sometime to shew his lightnesse and maistrie
He plaieth Herode on a *skaffold hie.*"

them. The places where they played them was in every streete. They begane first at the Abay gates, and when the first pagiante was played, it was wheeled to the highe crosse before the Mayor, and so to every streete, and soe every streete had a pagiant playinge before them at one time, till all the pagiantes for the daye appoynted weare played, and when one pagiant was neere ended, worde was broughte from streete to streete, that soe they mighte come in place thereof, excedinge orderlye, and all the streetes have their pagiantes afore them all at one time playeinge togeather; to se w'ch playes was great resorte, and also scafoldes and stages made in the streetes in those places where they determined to playe theire pagiantes."

Another MS. of Archdeacon Rogers, a transcript of which has been obligingly communicated by Mr. Markland, contains in some instances a more clear and copious account of the Chester performances, and those parts are given below:—

"The mañer of which playes was thus: they weare divided into 24 pagiantes according to the cõpanyes of the Cittie & every companye brought forthe their pagiant wch was the cariage or place wch the played in. And thei first beganne at the Abbaye gates, & when the firste pagiante was played at the Abbaye gates then it was wheled from thense to Pentice, at the hyghe Crosse, before the Maior, & before that was donne the seconde came,—and the first went into the Watergate Streete, & from thense unto the Bridge Streete, & so one after an other 'till all the pagiantes weare played appoynted for the firste daye, & so likewise for the seconde & the thirde daye—these pagiantes or carige was a highe place made like a howse with 2 rowmes, beinge open on the tope—the lower rowme theie apparrelled & dressed themselves, & the higher rowme theie played, & thei stoode upon VI wheeles, & when the had donne with one cariage in one place theie wheled the same from one streete to another."

The foregoing descriptions perfectly accord with the particulars contained in the different Companies Accounts that refer to the Pageant vehicles at Coventry, and we may form some idea of the appearance presented by the Smiths' Pageant by a consideration of the following items: thus, the cross was painted and gilt; there is a charge for setting up the "mortys of the crosse," and for a piece of timber to it; also a rope to draw up the cross, and the cloth that hangs before it. The pillar to which Christ was tied when scourged was also painted and gilt.

In 1469 "mendyng of Imagery" is one of the charges of Pageant expences, and in 1578 "ij new berars of yron for þ^{e} *seyt* in þ^{e} padgand" occurs. (The Cappers and Drapers Pageants afford considerable further illustrations of this subject.)

The Pageant floor was strewed with rushes, and in the preceding agreement of the Smiths' Company with Colclow, it is stipulated that they are to find the "Clobs þ^{t} gon abowte the pajant." There is also in 1440 the following entry: "item p cloth to lap abowt þ^{e} pajent, payntyng & all iij^{s} vj^{d} ob." These cloths were obviously hung round the Pageant vehicle, so as to conceal from the eyes of the spectators the lower room in which the performers "apparelled themselves," as well as the machinery underneath the "rowme" or stage of action; such as the Hogsheads in the new Pageant of this Company hereafter described; the Windlass, which in the Cappers' Pageant had three men to attend on it, and in the Drapers' had a rope three fathom long: the apparatus for representing the earthquake in the Drapers' Pageant and Hell-mouth, &c. &c.

There are constant charges for nails, tenterhooks, rings, wire, thread, small cord, and similar articles, which of course were used for the curtains and in the machinery and dresses.

"The higher rowme,[b] all open on the tope," seems to have been an object of no inconsiderable attention: in the Drapers'[c] Pageant this was embattled and ornamented with carved wood-work and a crest: the Smiths' had vanes,[d] burnished and painted, and the use of pencils or streamers, or both, may be discovered in all the remaining accounts: indeed the following extract from an inventory of goods, ornaments, &c. belonging to the Cappers' Chapel, 28 Henry VIII. almost warrants a conjecture that the subjects of the Pageant, either painted or worked in tapestry, were sometimes displayed at the time of representation. "It? ij pajiont Clothes of the passion;" and these items also occur in the Accounts of that Company:—

Itm̃ pd for lynen clothe to paynt ..... v^{s}

Itm̃ pd to Horseley the paynter ..... xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

A charge so considerable seems to imply that this was for a "pajionte clothe" or cloths: or if not for that purpose, was probably a more costly and shewy cloth than the Smiths' for wrapping "abowte the pajant." The subject of the Cappers' Pageant, it should be observed, was usually the trial and crucifixion of Christ, and the descent into Hell.

[b] The acting was not always confined to this room or platform, for in the Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant, the direction for Herod in one place is "Here Erode ragis in þ^{e} pagond & in the *strete* also."

[c] 1540.—"It'm for mendyng the bateling yn the toppe of the pagent viij^{d}"

1567.—"It'm for carvyng bords and crest ffor the toppe of the padgen iij^{s}"—*Drapers' Accounts.*

1553.—"It'm payd for payntyng of the pagent tope xxij^{d}"—*Smiths' Accounts.*

[d] 1471.—"Exp'ns for burneysshyng & payntyng of the fanes to the pageant xx^{d}"

Various charges in the Pageant Accounts demonstrate that at Coventry, as at Chester, it was customary to have scaffolds or stages for the accommodation of spectators: a few instances will suffice:—making of a new post to the scaffold;—a tryndyll and theal to ditto;—two new scaffold wheels 6s. 8d.;—iron pins and colters to the scaffold wheels;—boards about the scaffold;—three boards and a ledge for the scaffold;—clamps and iron-work;—setting in of the Pageant and *scaffolds*;—driving the Pageant and *scaffolds*. From these items it is evident that the "scaffolds" were placed upon wheels, and moved with the Pageant, to which it probably was attached, as the usual charges are for "having out of the Pageant, setting the Scaffolds: and setting in of the Pageant and Scaffolds" to the Pageant-house after the performance was over.

The moving of the Pageants from station to station was attended with some labour. The Smiths' was usually "dryven" by a number of men,[e] not specified; the Cappers had 12, and the Drapers 10.[f] It appears that the *first station* of this Pageant was in Gosford-street, another was at Much Park-street End, most likely at the corner of Jordan Well, in which case a third was at New Gate.

1450.—Spend to bryng the pagent in to gosford-stret ..... v^{d}
1562.—Itm̃ for settyng the padgande yn the *first* place ..... vj^{d}
1471.—Expñs at mikelp'ke strete ende for ale to þ^{e} pleyers .... x^{d}
Itm̃ at Ric$^{?}$ a woodes,[g] dur for ale to þ^{e} pleyers ..... v^{d}
1486.—It^{9} for ale at þ^{e} newe ȝate ..... j^{d} ob.

In 1494 an order of Leet was made (vide p. 10 ante) that every Pageant should be set in Gosford-street in the old and accustomed place; and as that is the first Ward in point of precedency, it seems very probable that all the Pageants commenced playing there.

As a means of keeping up the attention of the performers and managers of the Pageants, annual rehearsals[h] (usually two in number) took place before the respective Companies; and the specimen of the Smiths' Pageant charges for 1490, given pp. 15, 16, ante, shews that their rehearsals were had in Easter and Whitsun

[e] 1498.—"It' payd for ij Cords for the draught of þ^{e} paygaunt—j^{d}"—*Smiths' Accounts.*

[f] 1497.—"It'm for the horssyng of the padgeant xij^{d}" *Smiths' Account.*—One instance only occurs of horses in the Drapers' Pageant, viz. 1591, the very last time of their performing. "Payd for Corde & horssyng the pagen."

[g] He was Mayor in 1466.

[h] "It' spent at þ^{e} first rehearse at the brekefast of the Companye v^{s} viij^{d}"
"It' spent at þ^{e} second reherse at the brekefast of þ^{e} Company vj^{s} ij^{d}"—*Cappers' Accounts*, 1565.
"Spent on the companye after we had hard þ^{e} second Reherse ij^{d}"—*Smiths' Accounts*, 1576.

weeks. The Cappers' Company, in 1584, upon producing a new Pageant, had no fewer than five rehearsals.

The following items point out the various places where the rehearsals took place :—

1466. –It? in expens' at the rehers in the pke ..... iij[d]

1576.—pd for sent marye hall to reherse there ..... ij[d]

1579.—pd to the plears rehersyng in the palys ..... xij[d]

1584.—payde the players at the last Reherse in Seint Nicholas hall .. iij[d]

The "palys" was the Bishop's Palace, part of which was rented by the Company for their quarterly and occasional meetings. St. Nicholas Hall belonged to Corpus Christi and St. Nicholas Gild; and here the Smiths' Company had their annual dinner upon St. Loy's day.

A person was appointed "Dresser"[i] of each Pageant, and in the course of performing on public occasions, ale[k] was given both to the players and drivers. Pilate being the principal character in the Smiths' Pageant, the performer was allowed wine.[l]

In 1469 the following charge occurs in the Accounts of the Smiths' Company :

It' for iiij Jaked men[m] about the pagent ..... iiij[d]

As this is the only item that has been discovered of a similar payment, it must be left to conjecture whether these men were employed *in* the Pageant as a guard to Herod or Pilate, or attending the Crucifixion (subordinate to the Knights) or whether as the words "*about* the pagent" seem to imply, they were stationed in the street around it, to prevent any improper intrusion from the spectators. No such charge occurs in the other Companies' Accounts; but the necessity of some such regulations is sufficiently obvious, and a charge in the same Accounts of this Company, in 1564, of 6d. "pd for a chassyng stafhed," seems to strengthen the conjecture.

In the oath taken by the Masters of the Company, they swear to "kepe unto the uttermasse, all suche Laudable customs as *Pagans*, Quartrage, Weddings, Burings and suche other like things as hathe be in timis past usyd and customyd."

[i] "Pd þ[e] dresser of þ[e] Pagent."—1584. "Payd for dressynge the Pagyn."—*Cap. Acc.*

1474. "Pd for swepyng the pagent & dressyng vij[d]"—*Smiths' Acc.*

[k] "Pd for drynking for the playars *betwen the play tymes* xiiij[d]"—sometimes "*betwen the stages.*"

"Pd for drynk in the Pagent," and "drynkynge at þ[e] swanne dore ij viij[d]."—*Cap. Acc.*

1494.—"It' in expenc' on þ[e] pleares for makyng them to drynke & hete at ev'y reste xij[d]"—*Smiths' Acc.*

[l] 1450.—"It' payd for a pynt of wyne for pilatt j[d]"

1480.—"pd for a quart red wyn for pilat ij[d]"—*Smiths' Acc.*

[m] Men in armour, or suits of buckram or cloth, representing armour.

It also appears that an annual[n] collection was made in the Company, called "*Pagent pence.*" This varied from 2s. 2d. to 3s. 4d. and sometimes more.

6 Edw. VI. Reseyved of the Craft for pagent pencys · · · · · · iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Extract from the Rules of the Smith's Company, 13 Hen. VII. :—

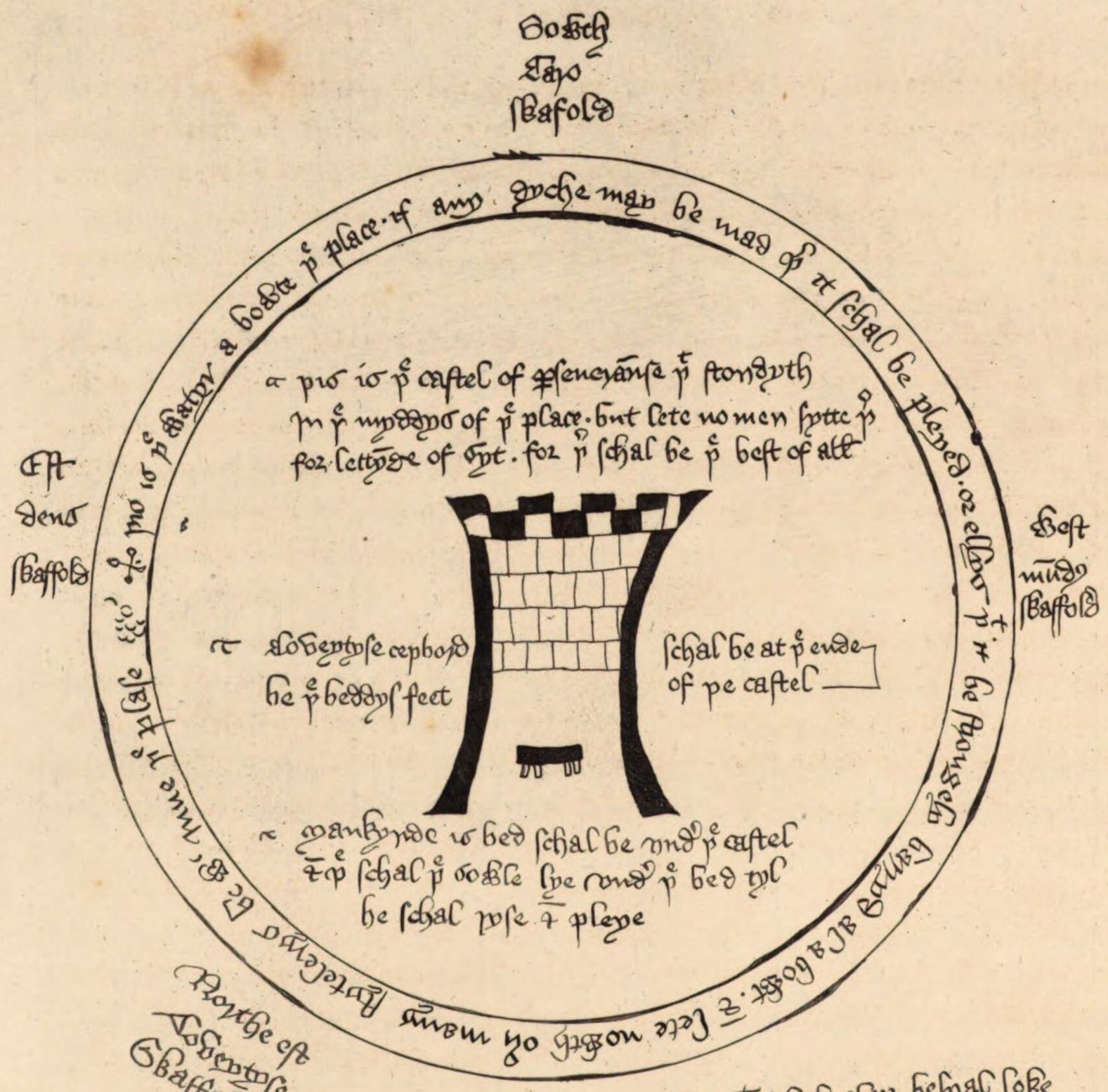
"Also that they [the Journeymen of the Craft] wate upon the hede mayst^{r} upon Corpus xp̄i daye to goo upon p̄ssession also to wate upon the mayst's and *attende upon the pageaunt* to the worsshipe of this cite, and the crafte in like wyse to wate upon the maist'rs of the crafte and so likewise to goo upon wache on myssom^{r} nyȝght and santte pe̅t nyȝght."

In the frontispiece to the present work, the materials illustrative of this subject have, upon due consideration, been so embodied as to afford, it is hoped, a tolerably clear and accurate idea of the appearance of a Pageant Vehicle, at the time of performing the Mysteries.

The supposed Pageant of the Smiths' Company is stationed near the Cross, in the Cross-cheaping, and the armed guard around it are introduced upon the authority of an item in their accounts for 1469, noticed above. The group partly seated on the ground are intended to represent the persons who drew the vehicle from station to station; three minstrels are seen in the fore ground, one of whom has bagpipes, and beside them stands a carpenter, the propriety of whose attendance on this occasion is proved by extracts from the Accounts of the Cappers' Pageant. The time of action chosen is the period when Pilate, upon the repeated charges of Caiphas and Annas, is compelled to give up Christ for execution, and a servant bringing water in a basin is partly obscured by the *pillar*, upon which lies a scourge. Pilate is represented sitting upon a throne or chair of state, a licence that seemed perfectly allowable, although no specific mention of such a seat occurs in the notices gleaned from the Pageant Accounts of the Smiths' Company; beside him stands his son, with *sceptre* and *poll-axe*, and beyond our Saviour are the two high priests, habited as Christian bishops; the two armed figures behind are the *Knights*. The *vanes, crest, streamer, embattlement, and carved boards for the top of the Pageant*, previously noticed, are introduced in the design, and the Pageant cloth bears the appropriate symbols of the Passion.

It has been judged advisable not to introduce any representation of the moveable *scaffold*, in a situation which afforded such ample room for the numerous spectators, both inhabitants and strangers, who crowded to witness the performances,

[n] In 1562 occurs in the Cappers' Accounts—"Rec' of the ffellowship for pageant xxxij^{s} iiij^{d};" but no other entry of a like nature has been observed.



D. Lee Sc.

STAGE DIRECTIONS FOR THE MORALITY OF THE CASTLE OF GOOD PERSEVERANCE.

Coventry, Published by Merridew & Son July 1. 1825

and the rather, because the accounts of these appendages to the Pageant vehicle are not very clear and explicit. The architectural character of the houses is derived from actual examples in Coventry, and some pains have been taken to give a general air of consistency to the costumes of the figures introduced.

In the collection of the late Dr. Cox Macro was a very curious MS. *Mystery* or rather *Morality* (since it partakes largely of the characteristics of the latter class of compositions) which is now in the possession of Hudson Gurney, Esq. through whose liberality I have been permitted to lay before the reader, for the further illustrating this portion of our enquiry, a fac-simile of the first leaf, containing particular orders for the arrangement of the scaffolds or stages, as well as various observations and directions for the performance. A reference to the plate will shew a rude representation of a castle, raised some height from the ground, upon pillars or supports, and standing in the centre of a circle formed by two lines one within the other, in the space between which is written " + þis is þe watyre a bowte þ^e^ place, if any dyche may be mad þ^?^ it schal be pleyed; or ellys þ^t^ it be strongely barryd al a bowte: & lete nowth ov^?^ many stytelerys be w^t^ inne þ^e^ plase." Over the castle we read " þis is þ^e^ castel of p[illegible]severãnse þ^t^ stondyth in þ^e^ myddys of þ^e^ place; but lete no men sytte þ^?^ for lettyğe of syt, for þ^?^ schal be þ^e^ best of all." Beneath the castle and within the supports to it, stands a bed (as we learn from the context) below which are these words:—" Mankynde is bed schal be und^?^ þ^e^ castel, & þ^?^ schal þ^e^ sowle lye und^?^ þ^e^ bed tyl he schal ryse & pleye." On each side of the castle is written the following direction:—" Coveytyte ce[u]pbord schal be at þ^e^ ende of þ^e^ castel, be þ^e^ beddys feet."

On the outside of the circle five stations for scaffolds are marked out; beginning at the top we read " Sowth, Caro skafold—West, mũd^o^ [Mundus] skaffold—Northe, Belyal skaffold—North est, Coveytyse skaffold—Est, deus skafold." Underneath the circle are the following directions to the performers, the first of which will be again noticed:—" & he þ^t^ schal pley belyal, loke þ^t^ he have guñe powd^?^ breñyğ in pypys ĩ h's hands & ĩ h's ers [ears] & ĩ h's ars whañe he gothe to batayl."——" þ^e^ iiij dowters schul be clad ĩ mẽtelys, [mantles] Mercy ĩ wyth, [white] rythwysnesse ĩ red al togedyr, Trewthe in sad grene, & Pes al in blake, & þei schul pleye ĩ þ^e^ place al to gedyr tyl þey brynge up þ^e^ sowle."

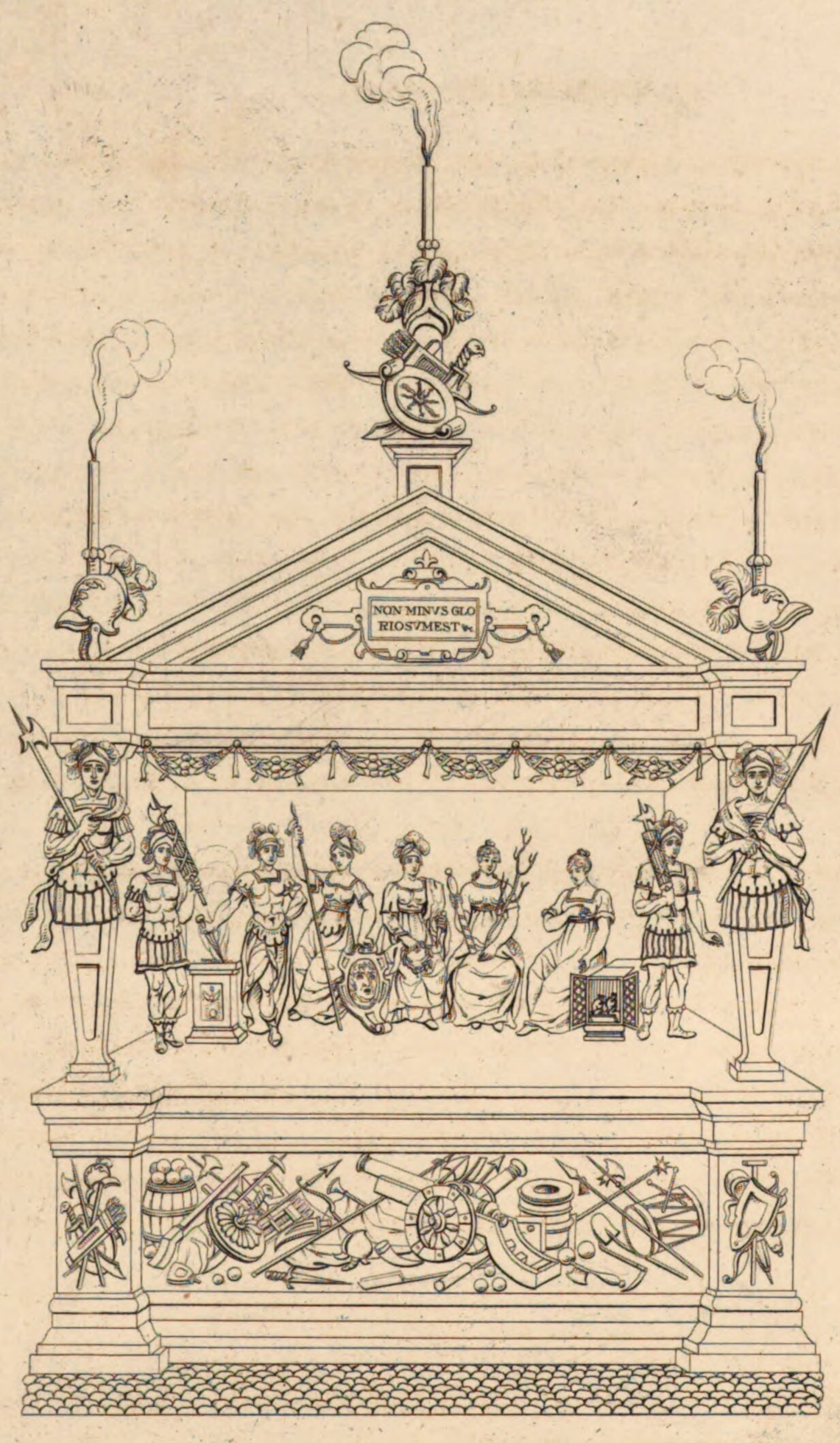
Riccoboni, in his History of the French Stage, says that in the representations of the Mysteries, the theatre shewed paradise, heaven, hell, and earth, and all at once; there was no change of the decorations. After an actor had performed his part he did not go off the stage, but retired to a corner of it, and sat there in full

view of the spectators. Our ingenious and laborious countryman, Strutt, has given the following description of the manner of performing the Mysteries, and an account of the English Stage, upon the first introduction of regular plays:—

"In the early dawn of literature, and when the sacred Mysteries were the only theatrical performances, what is now called the stage did then consist of three several platforms, or stages, raised one above another; on the uppermost sat the *Pater Cœlestis*, surrounded with his angels; on the second appeared the holy saints and glorified men; and the last and lowest was occupied by mere men, who had not yet passed from this transitory life to the regions of eternity On one side of this lowest platform was the resemblance of a dark pitchy cavern, from whence issued appearance of fire and flames; and when it was necessary, the audience were treated with hideous yellings and noises, as imitative of the howlings and cries of the wretched souls tormented by the relentless dæmons. From this yawning cave the devils themselves constantly ascended, to delight and to instruct the spectators; to delight, because they were usually the greatest jesters and buffoons that then appeared; and to instruct, for that they treated the wretched mortals who were delivered to them with the utmost cruelty, warning thereby all men carefully to avoid the falling into the clutches of such hardened and remorseless spirits.—But in the more improved state of the theatre, and when regular plays were introduced, all this mummery was abolished, and the whole cavern and devils, together with the highest platform before mentioned, entirely taken away, two platforms only then remaining; and these continued a considerable time in use, the upper stage serving them for chambers, or any elevated situations (as when some of the actors should, from the walls of cities or the like, discourse with those who were standing under them on the lower platforms.) This appears from several entries to be found in the old editions of the first plays, where mention is often made of the *upper* and *lower stages*."—*Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 130.

No authority is quoted for the above account, so far as it refers to the representation of the Mysteries, and whatever ground the author may have had for the description he has given, it cannot apply to the moveable vehicles, upon which the Corpus Christi Pageants at Coventry and elsewhere were exhibited, but like the article from Riccoboni, has reference to a fixed stage, ill according with the varied subjects of the Corpus Christi plays.

There was another description of Pageant, cotemporaneous with, and long surviving, those of the Religious Mysteries. These were Gratulatory Pageants, in honour of Illustrious individuals, generally of an allegorical nature, and in their



PEGMA AD.D.IACOBI

D. Lee sc.

PAGEANT EXHIBITED AT ANTWERP, IN 1594.

Coventry Published by Merridew & Son. July 1 1895.

earlier use having speeches assigned to the respective characters; but in many instances, more especially after the Mysteries were discontinued, the personifications were altogether dependant upon dress and symbols. A detailed account of Pageants of this description exhibited at Coventry, will be found in a subsequent division of this work; but with a view to the general illustration of the form and construction of Pageantic structures, and to render the present investigation more compleat, the following extract is given from the rare and curious work of Bochius entitled "Descriptio publicæ gratulationis, Spectaculorum et Ludorum in adventu Sereniss: Principis Ernesti Archiducis Austriæ, &c Belgicis Provinciis."—Antwerpiæ ex Officina Plantiniana 1595.

This splendid book is illustrated with numerous engravings by Peter Vander Borcht, representing the various spectacles that were prepared at Antwerp, on occasion of the Archduke's visit to that City in 1594, amongst which, at page 93, is one inscribed PEGMA AD D. JACOBI, a copy of which, reduced to one-half the size of the original, is here given, together with the author's description of the subject.

"Pegma Publicum in via quæ Longa Novaque appellatur exstructum.

"Ad exitum vici D. Claræ perbellum pegma Reip. nomine constitutum cernebatur, heroici planè argumenti. Ab humo ad proscenium usque, septem pedes altitudini, viginti quinq: latitudini dabantur, in cujus spatio armorum genera infinita, & belli apparatus ex arte pictus, militia peritis spectatoribus placebat. A scena duo militares Hermæ ad pedes duodecim assurgentes, Zophorum tribus pedibus latum sustinebant, cum fastigio acuminato, cujus angularia acroteria in galeas ornatas desinebant, medianum, in tropheum terminabatur, totamque altitudinem ad triginta sex pedes sublimem elevabat, hac adnotata in tympano sententia.

"NON MINUS GLORIOSUM EST EXTREMA DELERE, QUAM PRIMA DEPELLERE: NAM ETSI PRIMA PRÆSIDIA REIP. UTILIA SUNT, TAMEN EXTREMA SUNT GRATIORA.

"Oratio spectabat ad Archiducem, qui si teterrimæ hujus discordiæ reliquias oppresserit, totius belli confector censebitur.

"Scena quæ septem pedes profunditatis capiebat, rubris velabatur peripetasmatis. In ejus medio sella curuli sublimis sedebat Ars Imperatoria, simili habitu quo Roma figuratur in antiquis marmoribus, & in hortis Cæsiis exstare conspeximus, lauream dextra, pugionem stringebat sinistra. Quatuor Virtutes Imperatoriæ utrinque assidebant: Peritia rei militaris, cum ægide & hasta; Virtus bellica, præsentis animi virgo casside ac reliqua armatura & amictu antiquitati nihil cedens,

nudis brachiis, dextram, qua pugionem tenebat, igni super ara extructo intrepidè admovebat, figurata fortitudine & magnanimitate quam Romanus ille Scævola reliquit prædicandam. Nec deerat Auctoritas, seu Disciplina militaris, quæ teretem dextra baculum bipedalem, tortili flexu, albo rubroque colore distinctum, more tribuni militaris tenebat, læva vitem centurionalem. Quarta Nympha, Imperatorice Artis assecla, Felicitas erat, cum cavea pullaria ex antiqui marmoris figura fabricata, sumpto ex veterum religione argumento, qui nisi salvis ex pastu pullorum & tripudiorum auspiciis, ullam belli gerendi occasionem admittebant. Duo lictores sagati Romano more, & galea crista plumatili insignes, cum fascibus laureatis proscenium tuebantur. Personis verò omnibus vestes erant sericæ, versicolores & perquàm decoræ."

Of the characters represented in the Smiths' Pageant, the first in the list is

GOD,

or as it is sometimes more correctly expressed Jesus. The following are the principal entries describing the dress of this character:—

1451.—It' payed for vj skynnys of whitled? to godds gm̃ent ..... xviij^{d}
It' payed for makyng of the same gm̃ent ..... x^{d}
1553.—It' payd for v schepskens [n] for gods coot & for makyng ..... iij^{s}
1498.—It' payd for mendyng a cheverel for god and for sowyng of gods kote of leddur and for makyng of the hands to the same kote ..... xij^{d}
1490.—It' a chevẽl gyld for Ihẽ.
1565.—pd for payntyng & gyldyng (inter alia) gods cote.
pd for a gyrdyll for god ..... iij^{d}
1501.—It' pd ffor a newe sudere for god ..... vij^{d}
1560.—Itm̃ for a selldall for god ..... xij^{d}

Few observations are necessary upon the above items:—it is obvious that the sheepskins anno 1553, must have been dressed and converted into white leather, and the making of hands to the coat (1498) is subsequently explained; but it is a remarkable circumstance that the cheverel or false hair (Peruke) is in 1490, as well as that for Peter, described to have been gilt.[o] The "sudure" (1501) is probably the Veronica so well known in the legendary Life of Christ; and as in

[n] "Payd for the players geers, six sheepskins for Christ's garments." Church Wardens' Accounts, 1578. *Dyde's Tewkesbury, p.* 108.

[o] Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth are reported to have worn occasionally fine gold dust in their hair; but this must have been some cheap imitation of the effect produced by gold dust.

that case it would be painted with a resemblance of his countenance, the price agrees well enough with such a supposition: and the "selldal" was perhaps the *settle* or *seat* on which Christ was placed in mock dignity, in the interval between his condemnation and crucifixion.

The following extracts from the numerous directions in the Ludus Coventriæ, may not be unacceptable to the reader. After Christ is stripped, bound to a pillar and scourged, the ensuing direction is in these words:—"And quhen he is skorgyd þei put up on hym a cloth of sylk and settyn hym on a stole & puttyn a crowne of þornys on hese hede with forkys & þ^e^ Jewys knelyng to Cryst takyng hym a sept^r^ & skornyng hym & þ^n^ þei xal pullyn of the purpyl cloth & don on his owyn clothis and leyn þ^e^ crosse in his necke & drawyn hym forth wyth ropys."

When arrived at Mount Calvary, we have the following instructions:—

"Þ^n^ xul þei pulle Ihũ out of his clothis & leyn them to gedyr & þ^n^ þei xul pullen hym down & leyn hym A long on þ^e^ cros & aft þ^t^ nayly' hy' þon."

Presently one of the Jews is made to say:

"Sers set up þ^e^ cros on þ^e^ hende
Þ^t^ we may loke hy' in þ^e^ face."

It will be remembered that amongst the items of expenditure upon the Smiths' Pageant are charges for a rope to draw up the cross, and a cloth to hang before it. The cross was painted and gilt, and there is an entry of payment for setting up the "mortys of the crosse."

See under the character JUDAS, at page 32, a remarkable anecdote connected with the performance of Christ in "Le Mystere de la Passion" at Veximiel, in 1437.

CAIAPHAS AND ANNAS.

Caiaphas and Annas, though separated in the list of characters, should be brought together. These Jewish High Priests were, according to the practice of those times (as may be seen in various cotemporary illuminations) arrayed as Christian Bishops. This will appear by the extracts which follow: and in fact they are called "busshoppys" in the stage directions for the same Pageant in the Ludus Coventriæ:—

1486.—It' for a tabarde & an hoode [the hire of] ····iiij^d^

1487.—It' paid ffor hyryng off a skarlet wood [hood] and a raygete [rochet] ffor on off the bisshoppis ..... v^{d}

1544.—payd for a bysschops taberd of scarlet that we bowght in the trenete church ..... x^{s}

1499.—It' payde for colours and gold foyle & sylv foyle for ij myttyrs

HEROD.

The writer of the Smiths' Pageant availed himself of the account given by St. Luke of our Saviour being sent by Pilate to Herod,[p] when he understood that he was a Galilean, a circumstance that is omitted in the Ludus Coventriæ, though certainly capable of furnishing a very interesting scene, and accordingly we find that Herod was an important character in this Pageant, the performer receiving 3s. 4d. and sometimes 3s. 8d. for his services, and considerable expence was also bestowed upon his dress and appointments. The performer wore a painted vizor or mask, as is evident from the three items which immediately follow.

1477.—It' to a peynter for peyntyng the ffauchon & herods face ..... x^{d}

1516.—It' payd to a peynter for peyntyng & mendyng of herodes heed .... iiij^{d}

1547.—Pd to John Croo for mendyng of herrods hed and a myter and other thyngs ..... ij^{s}

1480.—Expens' for a slop for herod (inter alia)

Pd for peyntig̃ & dressyng heruds stuf ..... ij^{d}

1489.—It' paid ffor a gowen to Arrode..... vij^{s} iiij^{d}

It' paid ffor peyntyng & steynyng ther off..... vj^{s} iiij^{d}

It' payd ffor Aroddes garment peynttyng þ^{t} he went a ꝑssayon[q] in.. xx^{d}

1501.—Itm̃ ffor vj ȝards satten iij qũtrs ..... xvj^{s} x^{d}

Itm̃ for v ȝardus off blowe bokeram ..... ij^{s} xj^{d}

It' pd ffor makyng off herodus gone ..... xv^{d}

1490.—A "fawchon" a "septur" and "a Creste for heroude" repaired.

The only remaining article of Herod's dress is his "Crest" or helmet, upon which it seems, from various entries, considerable trouble was bestowed.

[p] In the Corpus Christi Plays at York, vide Appendix to this Section, the characters in the Pageant represented by the Company of "Littesters" are as follows:—"Herod, two councellors, four soldiers, Jesus, and three Jews."

[q] "p'ssassyon."—This was a dress in which Herod rode in the "*Corpus Christi Procession*," hereafter to be described under that head."

1487.—It' for mendyng of Arroddes Crast ..... xij^{d}

(Many similar entries occur in subsequent years.)

1494.—It' payd for iij platis to Heroddis Crest of Iron ..... vj^{d}

It' payd for a paper of Aresdyke [r] ..... xij^{d}

It' payd to Hatfeld for dressyng of Herods Creste .... xiiij^{d}

1499.—It' payd to John Hatfelde for colours and gold foyle & syl♀ foyle for þ^{e} crest and for þ^{e} fawchon (inter alia)

1477.—It' for Assadyn,[s] Sil♀ papur & gold papur, gold foyle & grene ffoyle .. ij^{s} j^{d}

Itm̃ for Redd wax ..... ij^{d}

Itm̃ payd to Thomas Suker for makyng the Crests .... xxij^{d}

1478.—It' for assaden for the harnes ..... x^{d}

The items anno 1477 follow each other in the Account Book, and from similar entries in the Cappers' Accounts, are undoubtedly connected; they consequently relate to the ornamenting of *Crests*, of which most likely Herod's was one: indeed no other instances of *Crests* occur in the Smiths' Pageant Accounts; two therefore probably belong to the Knights, who would be clad in armour, of which the Company had three suits. It might have been expected that Herod would have been dressed with a crown, but the contrary is evident from the extracts given above, though a conjecture may arise as to the crest, whether it did not represent

[r s] Aresdyke, Assadyn.—A cheap kind of ornamental stuff, which from the context may be conjectured to be metallic. The same substance was used with gilt and coloured papers, to decorate the Cressets in the Smiths' Midsummer-night Procession. In Arnold's Chronicle, sign. Q, 2 b. amongst a list of similar articles, viz. gold, silver, and coloured papers, foil, &c. and following "Gold foyle," is "Orsady at xd li'" evidently the same material more *correctly* spelt.

Mr. Steevens supposes "*orseden*" to be a corruption of *arsedine*. "Are you puffed up with the pride of your wares?—your *arsedine?*" says Joan Trash, a gingerbread woman, to Leatherhead, a vender of hobby-horses, in Ben Jonson's "Bartholomew Fair." Act 2, sc. 2.—The sticks of these hobby-horses were painted a most glaring red: *arsedine* is supposed, therefore, to be a word formed from *arsineum*, and meaning a flame colour, in the same manner as *carnardine*, which signifies a flesh colour.—Lyson's Env. of London, vol. IV. p. 592.

At the end of Gent's History of York, 1730, is an advertisement of *numerous* articles sold by Hammond, a bookseller of that city, and amongst the rest occurs "Assidue or Horse-Gold," the very next article to which is "Hobby-Horse Bells."

A dealer in Dutch-metal, Michael Oppenheim, 27, Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields, thus described himself in 1816:—"Importer of Bronze Powder, Dutch Metal, and OR-SEDEW;" and upon enquiry respecting the last article, it proved to be that thin yellow metal generally known by the name of *tinsel*, much used for ornamenting children's dolls, hobby-horses, and some toys, as well as manufactured into various shewy articles of dress. The word Orsedew is evidently a corruption of *Oripeau*, i. e. leaf (or skin) *gold*, afterwards *brass*. The Spaniards call it Oropel, gold-skin, and the Germans flittergold.

a crown, and the materials certainly are suitable to such a purpose; though after all, perhaps a splendid and gay effect in the crest was all that was aimed at. It will be remarked that a sattin gown (probably blue) was provided for this character, whereas in other instances a painted dress sufficed.

PILATE'S WIFE.

This personage[t] is very frequently described in the Pageant entries with the adjunct of "ꝑcula,"[u] [Procula.] Few traces of her dress are to be discovered; and it appears to have been considered of little importance, as not one new article of apparel belonging to her has been noticed.

1477.—Itm̃ for sowyng of dame ꝑcula Wyff Shevys[v] ..iij[d]

1478.—Itm̃ for mendyng of dame ꝑcula garments .....vij[d]

1487.—It' to reward to Maisturres grymesby for lendyng off her geir ffor pylatts wyfe.....xij[d]

1490.—It' for a quarte of wyne for heyrynge (hiring) of ꝑcula is gowne ....ij[d] ob.

BEADLE OR PORTER.

The Beadle or Porter, for this character was indifferently so named, presents little subject for investigation; only two items occur applying to his dress, viz.:—

1480.—Expens' for a jaket for þ[e] bydull (inter alia)

1490.—Itm̃ a Gowne for the bedull
Itm̃ a hode for the bedull } repaired.

TWO KNIGHTS.

No specific article of dress is attributed to these personages in the Smiths'

[t] This character was performed by a man.

1495.—"Ryngolds man Thomas þt playtt pylatts wyff."

1498.—"It' paid to pylatts wyffe for *his* wag's ij[s]"

[u] The Pseudo-gospel of Nicodemus supplied this name, and in fact the subject of Christ's descent into hell both in the Chester and Coventry series of Pageants, is chiefly derived from the same source.

[v] Such is the word in the MS. It has been conjectured that "white sleeves" was probably intended.

Cotgrave describes "chevet" to be a roll or boulster for the head; but the passage seems to be too corrupt for recovery.

In the Ludus Coventriæ is the following stage direction:—"Her xal þ[e] devyl gon to Pylatys wyf þ[e] curteyn drawyn as she lyth in bedde and he xal no dene [*din* or *noise*] make, but she xall sone after he is come in makyn a rewly noyse comyng & rennynge of þ[e] schaffald and her shert and her kyrtyl in her hand, and sche xall come beforn Pylat like a mad woman, seying thus."—Quere whether this obscure word may not mean the shift or "shert" with which she here is directed to run upon the stage, bearing it in her hand?

Accounts; it has therefore been already conjectured (see article Herod) that they wore armour, with which the Smiths were well provided; and as two or three suits were always used at the Midsummer-eve Processions, no item would appear in their Pageant Accounts for cleaning or repairing them. Upon this ground, in addition to two crests, ornamented with gilt paper, coloured foils, &c. before named, the following item is appropriated to them, in preference to any other characters:—

1449.—Itm̃ ij sps [spears] ..... iiij^{s} iij^{d}

DEVIL.

The Devil[w] was a very favourite and prominent character in our Religious Mysteries, wherein he was introduced as often as was practicable, and considerable pains taken to furnish him with appropriate habiliments, vizor, &c.

1451.—Itm̃ payd for þ^{e} demons gm̃ent makyng & þ stof..... v^{s} iij^{d} ob.

Itm̃ payd for collyryng of þ^{e} same gm̃ẽt..... viij^{d}

1477.—Itm̃ for mendyng the demons Garment (inter alia)

Itm̃ for newe ledder to the same Garment..... xxij^{d}

1494.—Itm̃ paid to Wattis for dressyng of the devells[x] hede.. viij^{d}

1490.—Itm̃ the devyls hede (repaired)

1498.—It' paid for peynttyng of the demones hede (inter alia)

1567.—Itm̃ payd for a stafe for the demon ..... iiij^{d}

JUDAS.

The following is all that appears respecting his dress:—

1572.—pd for Canvys for Judas Coote..... ij^{s}

pd for the makyng of hit ..... x^{d}

In conformity with the well-known popular belief that Judas had *red* hair and beard, there can be little doubt of this character being so represented in the Mysteries. In the enumeration of articles belonging to the Pageant, we find "3 cheverels and a beard," besides those for Jesus and Peter, which were "gilt."

[w] The celebrity of this character in the Corpus Christi Plays at Coventry has been noticed, page 6, note h; and in the Banes to the Chester Plays, 1600, their devil is thus described:—

"The Devill in his *fethers*, all ragger and rent."

[x] "A face or vizor for the Devil," occurs, inter alia, in the Tewksbury Church Wardens' Accounts, 1585.—See also Lyson's Cheshire, p. 583.

See in Nares' Glossary a full illustration of the epithet "Judas colour," and also notice of the legendary tale of the apostate being hung on an *elder tree*.[y]

PETER.

A single entry decisively belonging to this character is all that occurs, viz.:—

1490.—"It' a chevẽl gyld for Petur."

A gown and beard probably finished his dress (several entries of beards occur); and that his character was not a prominent one, appears from the circumstance of 4d. only being paid to the performer in 1477.

MALCHUS.

No article of dress particularly appropriated to this character appears in the Accounts. The performer received 4d. anno 1477.

PILATE.

Notwithstanding this was an important character in the Pageant, there are few traces of his dress discoverable. The performer was paid 3s. 4d. in 1477; afterwards it was advanced to 4s. being the highest sum paid to any player in this Pageant.

1480.—pd for mendyng of pilats hat.....iiij^{d}

1494.—It' paid for braband to pylatts hate v^{d} & for canvas....ij^{d} ob.

1490.—It' a Cloke for pilatte
Itm̃ a hatt for pilatte } repaired.

[y] A copy on vellum of *Le Mystere de la passion Jesus Christ*, printed at Paris by Antoine Verard, 1490, and preserved in the Royal Library of Paris (No. 4350), contains a MS. note in French, purporting to be an extract from an old Chronicle, entitled "Histoire de Metz veritable," whence it appears that its performance was attended by many foreign lords and ladies, whose names are specified, and that there were lanthorns placed in the windows [of the church?] during the whole time of the plays: but the most curious part of the MS. note is a relation that, "in the year 1437, on the 3d of July, was represented the game or play, *de la Passion, N.S.* in the plain of Veximiel, when the park was arranged in a very noble manner, for there were nine ranges of seats in height, rising by degrees; all around and behind were great and long seats for the lords and ladies. To represent God was the Lord Nicolle, Lord of Neufchatel, in Lorraine, who was curate of St. Victor of Metz; he was nigh dead upon the cross if he had not been assisted, and it was determined that another priest should be placed on the cross, to counterfeit the personage of the crucifixion for that day; but on the following day the said curate of St. Victor counterfeited the resurrection, and performed his part very highly during the play.

Another priest, who was called Messire Jean de Nicey, and was chaplain of Metrange, played *Judas*, and was nearly dead while hanging, for his heart failed him, wherefore he was very quickly unhung and carried off: and there *the Mouth of Hell* was very well done, for it was opened and shut when the devils required to enter and come out, and had two large eyes of steel."—Hone's Ancient Mysteries, &c. pp. 172-3.

It has before been observed that Pilate had *wine* allowed at the time of performing.

PILATE'S SON.

His dress is ascertained by the ensuing extract:—

1490.—Itm̃ a Gowne for pilatts sone
Itm̃ a hatt for pilatts sone
Itm̃ a poll ax for pilatts sonne
Itm̃ a septur for pilatts sonne

TORMENTORS.

Though not enumerated in the various lists of performers, there were evidently four characters, if not more, thus designated; and they were provided with a change of dress, as will appear from the subsequent articles:—

1451.—Itm̃ payed for makyng of iiij gownnys and iiij hodds to þ^e^ tormentors and þ^e^ stof þ^t^ went þ^r^ to .....xxiiij^s^ x^d^ ob.

1501.—It' ffor makyng off iiij Jaketes.....ij^s^
It' ffor iiij ellne cloth ffor the jakkets & the hatts .....xviij^d^
It' pd to the pyñt^r^ [painter] ffor hys warkemonchipe....xxj^s^ vij^d^

1490.—Md that these bene the Garments that wer new repellyd a gaynste corpus xp̄i daye
Inprimis iiij Jakketts of blake bokeram for þ^e^ tormentors w^t^ nayles & dysse upon þem.
Itm̃ other iiij for tormentors of an other suett wythe damaske fflowers
Itm̃ ij of bokeram w^t^ hamers crowned [z]
Itm̃ ij pty Jakketts of Rede and blake

The cost of these dresses was relatively very great, and there must have been considerable labour for the Painter to receive 21s. 7d.[a] for painting four jackets and hats, the materials and making whereof came only to 3s. 6d. Of the devices and ornaments some idea may be formed from the item in 1490.

The original meaning of the word "Tormentor," as applied to a public officer, is not now generally known, and therefore some account of it may not be out of place here. It occurs in St. Matthew xviii. 34, in the parable of the unforgiving servant: "And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the *tormentors*, till he

[z] Perhaps these dresses might be appropriated with more probability to the two Princes.

[a] 1497.—"payntyng of the players harnys xx^s^"

should pay all that was due to him." Whereupon it is observed by Dr. Campbell, that the original word properly signifies "examiner," particularly one who had it in charge to examine by torture: whence it came to signify *jailer*, for on such, in those days, this charge commonly devolved.

Cotgrave explains *Tormentor* by the French word *Bourreau*, which he translates an executioner, a hangman.

But a most apposite illustration of the term will be found in the following extract from Stowe's Chronicle, Edit. 1614, p. 459. "And in a stage plaie the people know right well, that he that plaieth the Sowdain, is percase a sowter [cobler] yet if one should know so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance hee hath with him, and call him by his owne name while hee standeth in his maiestie, *one of his tormentors* might hap to breake his head, and worthie, for marring of the plaie: And so they said, y^{t} these matters bee kinges games, as it were stage plaies, and for the more part, plaied upon skaffolds: in which poore menne bee but the lookers on. And they that wise bee, will meddle no further, for they that sometime step up, and play with them, when they cannot play their partes, they disorder the play and doe themselves no good."

In Lysons's Magna Britannia, Cambridgeshire, p. 89, an antient book of Church Wardens' Accounts for the parish of Bassingbourn is noticed. It commences in 1497, in which year are several entries of Church-ales, and in 1511 "the playe of the holy martir Seynt George" appears to have been represented on St. Margaret's Day with much celebrity, several neighbouring villages joining in the expences, and it seems some individuals contributed labour, others gave provisions, and players and musicians were hired from Cambridge. Amongst the contributors, John Bocher gave the painting of three falchions and four *tormentums:* and John Good, carpenter and wheelwright, gave the workmanship of the falchions and *tormentums*, beside some of the stuff. 2s. 8d. was paid to Hobard, a brotherhood priest, for *bearing the play book*, or in other words being the prompter.

The weapons called "tormentums" in the preceding extract, were evidently intended for the persons who played the parts of the *tormentors*, and perhaps the modern *javelin-men* are the aptest exemplification of these attendant officers that can be found; indeed they appear to have a considerable degree of resemblance and analogy.

TWO PRINCES.

1490.—Itm̃ ij hatts for ij princes (repaired).

Who these personages are does not at all appear; this is the only instance of their occurrence, and the most probable conjecture seems to be, that they were Sons of Herod.

Sundry articles of dress are found, which cannot easily be appropriated: amongst others the following:—

1489.—mendyng of hatts cappis w^{t} other smale geyr.....iij^{s}

1490.—Itm̃ twoo Burlettis (repaired.) See p. 17 ante.

1494.—Itm̃ paid for a strawen hate ob. a leffe of Roche clere.....j^{d}

1499.—Itm̃ for colours and gold foyle & sylv̊ foyle for iiij Capps (inter alia)

1501.—Itm̃ for borr$\bar{y}$ng [borrowing] off a skerlet gone & a cloke ....ij^{d}

1564.—It' payd for iij cheverels and a berde.....xij^{d}

1584.—Itm̃ payd for ij beards....vj^{d} 1501.—" mendyng the massus."

Most of the performers had gloves. In 1477 occurs: " It' xij peyr Glovez to the pleyers xviij^{d}" and in the same year, under the head " Solucc̃oes ad le pleyers," the first article is " Inprimis to Jh's for gloves & all xxij^{d} ". A reference to the dress of that character will shew that it was a white leather garment or coat, having a covering for the hands of the same materials attached to the sleeves, and consequently no gloves were required. 1505.—Pd for a dos' off whyght gloves... xij^{d}. Pd for ij payr off reed gloves....viij^{d}.

The Pageant Account for 1498, after enumerating all the performers, with the wages paid them, contains the following entry immediately succeeding the payments to performers. " It' paid to the peynter ffor peyntyng of ther ffasses viij^{d} " from which it is evident that those characters which were not played in masks or vizors, as was the case with Herod and the Devil, were represented with the faces of the performers painted. Indeed many other similar entries occur.

It yet remains to give some account of the Music which accompanied the performance of the Smiths' Pageant; in general the entries of this portion of expenditure are confined to the following items:—

1451.—It' payed to þ^{e} mynstrells^{c}.....viij^{s}

It' spend on mynstrells diñ^{r} & þ^{r} sop on corps x̃^{i} day.....xx^{d}

1471.—It' paid to the waytes for mynstrelship... ....vj^{s}

1477.—It' paid to the wayts for pypyng .....v^{s}

1549.—It' payd to the waytes for the pagent.....ij^{s} viij^{d}

[c] Two, and sometimes three, are specified as the number of Minstrells.

There is a specific mention of Trumpet and Bagpipes in the account of the new Play, "The Destruction of Jerusalem," brought out in 1584; but previously the general term "Minstrells" or "Wayts" is used.

Lastly, it is to be noticed, that only these entries occur respecting the "Play Book," or matter of their Play, viz.:

1495.—payd for copyyng of the ij knyghts ꝑtes & demons

1563.—It' to Robart Croo[d] for ij leves of ore pley boke.....viij[d] and

1494.—It' paid to John Harryes for beryng of ꝑ[e] Orygynall[e] ꝑ[t] day....vj[d]

SMITHS' "NEW PLEY."

In 1573, after the usual entry of payments to performers and other expences of the Pageant as heretofore, a short break occurs, and in the margin is written "New pley," after which follow these items:—

pd for pleyng of petur.....xvj[d]
pd for Judas ꝑte .....ix[d]
pd for ij damsylls.....xij[d]
pd to the deman .....vj[d]
pd to iiij men that bryng yn herod....viij[d]
pd to Fawston for hangyng Judas ....iiij[d]
pd to Fawstõ for Coc croyng .....iiij[d]
pd for Mr. Wygson's gowne[f] .....viij[d]

This new performance was continued (except in 1575, when no Play was exhibited) until 1580, and seems to have been acted after their old Pageant. The following additional items are found in the accounts for the years before specified, viz.:—

1576.—ffor the gybbyt of Jezie .....xviij[d]

[d] This was some additional matter. Croo was employed by the Cappers and Sheremens' Companies, in a similar manner.

[e] The *Original*, meaning the Play Book: vide note v, p. 15.—In 1491, a certain writing is called in their Accounts, "ꝑ[e] *new rygenale*."

[f] This was a gown belonging to Sir William Wigston, as appears by other entries, and was frequently borrowed by the Smiths for their Pageant. The charge of 8d. is for wine given in return for the use of the gown, which was worn by Herod.

1577.—ffor a lase[g] for Judas & a corde .....iij[d]
1578.—pd for a trwse for Judas ..... ij[s] viij[d]
pd for a new hoke to hange Judas* .....vj[d]
1579.—pd for a gowne[h] to the tayllers & sheremẽ.....x[d]

During the years 1580,[i] 1581, 1582, and 1583, the Smiths did not exhibit their Pageant; but after considerable preparations and rehearsals, they brought out, in 1584, an entirely new Pageant, The Destruction of Jerusalem, an account of which forms the subject of the next article.

DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM,

A NEW PAGEANT, PERFORMED 1584.

No less than six rehearsals took place previous to the public exhibition of this new Pageant, and a few items are selected from the charges attending those rehearsals, in order to illustrate the subject of "musicians," and shew the zeal and care of the Company.

Itm̃ payd to Cockram in Earnest for to playe on his bagpypes .....iiij[d]
Itm̃ payd to a trumpeter in Earnest at Seynt nycholas hall .....iiij[d]
It' payde to John Deane[k] for takynge paynes abowte the pageant....ij[s] vj[d]

The following is a literal copy of the entry of expences:—

Exspencys & paymentes for the pagente.

Inprimis payd to the players for a Reherse.....ij[s] vj[d]
Itm̃ payde to Jhon Grene for wrytynge of the playe boke.....v[s]
Itm̃ payde to the trumpeter for soundynge in the pagent..... v[s]
Itm̃ payde to hym that playde on the flute..... .....ij[s] vj[d]
Itm̃ payde to Jhon Foxall for the hyer of Irysshe mantylls..... ..... viij[d]

[g] *lase*, or *lace*, a beam, whence Wind-lace.—"pd for a Lace for Chattocks Chancel," 4s. Church Wardens' Accounts, 1700, for Castle Bromwich, Warwickshire.—In the Cappers' Accounts, 1543, occurs in the Pageant charges: "pd for a *lace* of Iorne to compas þ[e] beame xj[d]"

* Vide note y, p. 32, ante.

[h] This also was a gown borrowed or hired of the Sheremen and Taylors' Company, who put forth a Pageant as well as the Smiths. Whether they had at this time discontinued exhibiting, cannot be ascertained, as the ancient Accounts of that Company are lost or destroyed. Their *Play Book* fortunately is preserved, and the contents will be given hereafter.

[i] No Pageants were exhibited by the Cappers' or Drapers' Companies in these years.

[k] John Deane was the Company's Sumner.

Itm̃ gyvyn to the dryvers of the pagent to drynke .....iiij^{d}
Itm̃ payde for sope for the pagent wheles .....iiij^{d}
Itm̃ payde to Cookeson for makynge of a whele to the skaffolde ..... viij^{d}
Itm̃ payde for a Iron pynne & a Cotter for the Skaffolde whele .....iiij^{d}
Itm̃ spent on the Companye on the pley Even .....ij^{s} viij^{d}
Itm̃ payde to Will'ms for makynge of ij payre[1] of galleys .....ij^{s}
Itm̃ pd for the masters breakfast on the playe daye .....xx^{d}
Itm̃ pd for the players drynke to the pagent .....ij^{s}
Itm̃ pd for starche to make the Storme in the pagente.....vj^{d}
Itm̃ pd for carryenge of o^{r} appaill from pagent to pagente .....vj^{d}
Itm̃ pd for drynke for the muzizions .....ij^{d}
Itm̃ pd to Hewette for fetchynge of the hogges headds .....vj^{d}
Itm̃ pd to the souldyers for waytynge on the Captaynes .....ij^{s}
Itm̃ pd for a pottell of wyne to the pagente .....x^{d}
Itm̃ pd to the muzicions for playenge on theyre instruments in the Pagent ..v^{d}
Itm̃ pd for the M^{r} & the players sowper .....viij^{s} vj^{s}
Itm̃ pd to Jhon Deane for hys Dyner sowper and Drynkynge .....xij^{d}
Itm̃ pd for Russhes packthryd & tenter hookes .....viij^{d}
Itm̃ pd to ij drumme players .....x^{d}
Itm̃ pd to the dryvers of the pagente .....iij^{d}
Itm̃ pd to Hewet for his paynes .....ix^{d}
Itm̃ pd to Reignolde headley for playenge of Symon & Phynea.....v^{s}
Itm̃ pd to Gabryel Foster for playenge of Justus Ananus Eliazar & the Chorus..
vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm̃ pd to Jhon Bonde for playenge of the Capteyne Jhoannes & the Chorus vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm̃ pd to Willm̃ Longe for playenge of M'syers Jacobus hippenus & the Chorus
vj^{s} viij^{d}.....
Itm̃ pd to Jhon hoppers for playenge of Jesus & Zacharyas.....iij^{s}
Itm̃ pd to Henry Chamberleyne for playenge of Pristus apece of Ananus & Zilla
iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm̃ pd to Jhon Grene for playenge of Mathias & Esron .....ij^{s}
Itm̃ pd to Jhon Copestake for playenge of Esron his pte .....xx^{d}

[1] Under the head "other paimentes & Exspences" in the same year, occurs this:—"Itm payde for *lace* for the ij payre of galleys xv^{d}" "*Lace*" signifies a tie beam (see note g, p. 37, ante,) and probably these gallows were a sort of tressels or supports to the Pageant-floor, which had a more than usual number of performers to sustain or they might be literally gallows.

Itm̃ pd to Lewes pryce for playenge of Niger his pte .....xvj[d]
Itm̃ pd to Frauncys Coccks for playenge of Solome .....xij[d]
Itm̃ pd to Rich[d]. Fitzharbert & Edward Platte for playenge Chyldren to Solome xij[d]
Itm̃ pd to Xpofer Dygbye for his ij drummers .....vj[s] viij[d]
Itm̃ pd to the Awyntyente [ancient or flag] berer .....xij[d]
Itm̃ pd to Robert Lawton for kepynge of the booke.....ij[s]
Itm̃ pd to Edmund Durrant for payntynge .....ij[s]
Itm̃ pd to Thom's Massye for the temple & for his beardes .....iij[s]
Som̃ is v[li]. iij[s] vij[d]

It has been observed that the Smiths' Company did not exhibit their Pageant during the years 1580, 1, 2, 3. The temper of the times was hostile to such exhibitions of sacred subjects, especially amongst the Clergy,[m] the higher orders of society who had embraced the Protestant Religion, and men in power; and although no official memorial of the circumstance has been discovered, there can be little doubt that as the Pageants of all the Companies whose Accounts have been preserved were not played during those years, the discontinuance was occasioned by an interdiction from authority.

The MS. Annals of the City, under 1580, record that "this year the Pageants were again[n] laid down;" and such was the case, it appears, until 1584, when the following notice occurs in the before-cited M.S. Annals. "This year the new Play of the Destruction of Jerusalem was first played." All the Companies (exhibiting Pageants) whose records of the period exist, performed this new one; whence it may be reasonably inferred that application was made to the City Magistrates for a revival of the Pageants, and that they were not only willing to gratify the people in their long-accustomed and favourite amusement, but also, at considerable charge, provided them with a new subject, free from the objections raised against their former representations, appears by the ensuing extract from the City Accounts:—

[m] The good men of Coventry, who in 1574 amused Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth Castle with their Hox Tuesday performance, complained that although there was no Papistry or superstition in it, yet owing to the zeal of certain of their Preachers, it had been of late laid down.

[n] The term "again" is used in consequence of the Hox Tuesday shew having been put down in 1561, but the City Pageants *generally* are in this instance alluded to.

" paid to Mr Smythe[o] of oxford the xv^th^ daye of aprill 1584 for hys paynes for writing of the tragedye.....xiij^li^ vj^s^ viij^d^"

Owing, however, to circumstances not difficult to conjecture (though no documentary illustrations have been discovered) this Pageant, brought out with such considerable pains and expence by the Smiths' and other Companies, was never played again until 1591, when another application from " the Commons" to the Mayor and Corporation produced the order of Council House, given p. 12, for the playing of it on Midsummer and St. Peter's days, together with their favourite *Hox Tuesday* representation, and no other Plays. By the following extract it will be seen that the Smiths contributed, but did not perform :—

1591.—Itm̃ payd to Mr. Mayor towards the playes of the pageantes.....xx^s^

The reason for paying instead of performing will be shewn in the extract next given from their accounts:—

1586.—Itm̃ rec^d^ of Mr. Pyle for the pageante howse .....xx^s^

Itm̃ rec^d^ of Henry Bankes for the pageant.....xl^s^

We here find that two years after bringing out the Destruction of Jerusalem with such trouble and expence, they sold both Pageant and Pageant House; a circumstance that, connected with the preceding history of these exhibitions, indicates with sufficient plainness their approaching dissolution: accordingly, the exhibition of 1591 proves to be the last effort to revive these performances, and with that year's display terminated the long and brilliant career of the Coventry Pageants.

A short analysis of the new Pageant of *the Destruction of Jerusalem* may not be irrelevant to the plan laid down in this Essay. The materials are slight, but sufficient to form a general idea of the manner in which the subject was treated.

That the author grounded his Tragedy or Pageant upon Josephus's History of the Jews will appear very evident from an examination of the list of characters, most of which are mentioned in that writer's account of the celebrated Siege of Jerusalem, and the events connected with it. Some of the characters remain unappropriated, and perhaps a difference of opinion may arise as to others where

[o] John Smith or Smythe, a native of Warwickshire, was in 1577, at the age of 14, elected a Scholar at St. John's College, Oxford, being one of the earliest students sent from the Free School in Coventry, upon Sir Thomas White's foundation in that College. It appears that he was about 21 years of age when he composed this " tragedy." Wood says he was greatly esteemed in the University for his piety and learning, and that after filling the situation of Lecturer in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, with much credit to himself for some time, he was in 1592 appointed Vicar of Clavering, in Essex, where he died in 1616.

there are more than one of the name who signalized themselves; but the designations here given accord with the supposed outline of the Play, in the ensuing page.

Symon.—Simon of Gerasa, leader of one of the factions.
Phynea.—Phineas Son of Clusothus, an Idumean Commander.
Justus.
Ananus.—The eldest High Priest, slain by the faction of John.
Eliazer.—Eleazer, Son of Simon.
Johannes.—John of Gischala, leader of another faction.
M'syers.
Jacobus.—Jacob, Son of Sosus, a Commander in the service of Simon.
Hippenus.
Jesus.—Another High Priest, slain by the faction of John.
Zacharyus.—Zachariah, Son of Baruch, slain by the same faction.
Pristus.—Priscus, a Roman Centurion, who slew Jonathan the boaster.
Zilla.
Mathias.—An High Priest, sent to invite Simon into Jerusalem.
Esron.—(There is Simon, Son of Esron, named as a principal Jew.)
Niger.—Of Perea, also killed by John's party.
Solome.
2 Children to Solome.
The Captain.
Soldiers—who wore red coats—probably 12, being the number employed in the Cappers' and Mercers' representations of this Pageant.
Captains Lackies.
Chorus.
Ancient-Bearer.

MUSIC.

Two Drums.
One Trumpet.
One Flute.
One Pair of Bagpipes.
Musicians in the Pageant *generally*.

DRESSES, &c.

Irish Mantles — Two Green Cloaks
Beards — Three Garlands of Bays

MACHINERY, &c.

The Temple.
Two pair of " Galleys."
" Starch to make a Storm."—Perhaps intended to imitate a hail-storm.
Hogsheads.—Probably to represent thunder. Vide Drapers' Pageant.
The Play Book, that is a copy of the " Tragedye" written by Mr. Smythe, cost 5s.

According to the foregoing list of characters and the conjectural appropriations there given, combined with the machinery, dresses, and other apparatus, it appears that the Pageant commenced with the seditious proceedings in Jerusalem after the surrender of Gischala: and it should seem that the entry of the Idumeans into the Temple, (sent for by John of Gischala's faction,) during a tremendous storm, was particularly represented. *Ananus*, *Jesus*, *Zacharias*, and *Niger*, were slain by the Idumeans, after which they returned home.

About this time arose *Simon* of Gerasa, (under whom was a partizan named *Jacob,)* who presently over-run Idumea, and at length was invited into Jerusalem by the party seceding from John of Gischala, who, with his remaining supporters, withdrew into the Temple. At this period, and whilst the City was distracted by these powerful factions, the celebrated Siege commenced; but in what manner it was represented in this Pageant, does not appear.

Before concluding the History of Pageants exhibited by the Company of Smiths, it will be proper to remark, that besides the annual and regular performances, there are accounts preserved of particular Pageants displayed by the Company, on occasion of Royal visits to the City, in 1455, 1460, 1474, and in 1565, the details of which will be found in a subsequent division of this Essay.

CAPPERS' PAGEANT.

The very curious Book of Accounts belonging to the Cappers' Company commences in 1485, but the first charge for exhibiting their Pageant occurs anno 1534, and by the following Act of Leet it will be seen that they only came into

possession of the Weavers' Pageant in 1528, being previously contributory to that of the Girdlers.

1529.—Thomas Astellene, Mayor.

"It'm it is enacted at this lete that the Crafte of Capps of this Citie frome hensfurth shalbe owners of the Weyvers pagiaunt w^t^ all the implements & appell belongyng to þ^e^ same Pagiaunt, and that the seid Crafte of Weyvers shall yeirelie frome hensfurth pay unto the Mr. of the seid Crafte of Capps vj^s^ viij^d^ and so the seid Craft of Weyvers frome hensfurth to be clerlie discharged of the said Pageaunt & of the name thereof."—*Leet Book, fo.* 350 *b.*

In 1530, they were exonerated from an annual payment to the Girdlers' Company of 6s. 8d. towards their Pageant; and in the succeeding year, obtained the Pageant and Chapel, &c. of the Card-makers and Sadlers, as is shewn by the Order of Leet, transcribed below:—

1531.—Richard Rice, Mayor.

"It' Wher as the Company feliship & craft of cardemakers [p] & sadelers of this cite meny yeires & of longe continuaunce have hadd & yet have the cheif rule gov̊naunce repyng & meyntenaũce aswell of a Chappell w^t^in the pishe churche of seynt michells in the seid citie named seynt Thomas Chappell & of the ornamentes Jueles & lightes of the same (As also of a pagiaunt w^t^ the pagiaunt house & pleyng geire w^t^ other apptenũces & appelles belongyng to the same pagiaunt) The meyntenaunce & repãcon whereof haithe been & is yeirelie to the greit charge cost & expenses of the seid company & crafte beyng now but a fewe þsones in nomber & havyng but smale eyde of eny other craft for the same So that ther seid charge is & like to be more ponderouse & chargeable to theme then they may convenyentlie bere or susteyn in shorte tyme to come oneles þvision for a remedy may be spedilie hadd In consideracõn wherof & for asmoch as the company feliship & craft of capps w^t^in this citie now beyng in nomber meny welthy & honest þsones & have maide dyv̊s tymes sute & request unto the meire & his brethren the aldermen of this citie to have a certeyn place to theme assigned & limyted as dyv̊s other crafts have to sitt to gether in ther seid þishe churche to here ther dyvyne sv̊ice & bere suche charges for the same as by m^r^ meire & his brethern the aldermen shalbe assigned. It is therefore by the mediacõn of Mr Richard Rice now meire of this citie & of his seid brethern the aldermen at this þsent lete

[p] 1532.—Cappers' Accounts.—"payd for dyvers besynesse aboute the Cardemakers.....iij^s^ xj^d^
2nd Quarter—idem.....vii^s^"

assembled & by auctoritie of the same w^t^ the agrement consent & assent of all the seid pties companyes & crafts enacted ordeyned & constituted that the seid company & craft of capps from hensfurthe shalbe associat joyned & accõpanyed w^t^ the seid crafts of cardemakers & sadelers in the gov̊naunce repyng & meynteynyng aswell of & in the seid chappell named seynt Thomas Chappell & of the ornaments & lyghts of the same as of & in the seid pagyaunt and pagiaunt house w^t^ the implements apprtenũces pleaers reherces & pleying geire accustumed belongyng & necessarie to & for the same after such man̊ or better as it haithe been used & accustumed before tyme And that ev̊y housholder or shop kepr of ev̊y of the seid companyes & crafts towards & for the charges & exspeñs aboveseid shall not onelie pay yeirelie to the maisters & keprs of the seid crafts at such tyme & day as the seid crafts shall appoynt xij^d^ And upon Seynt Thomas day named the translacõn of seynt Thomas shall also offere yeirelie ev̊y of theme j^d^ at the high masse seid in the seid chappell (But also the seid maisters cõpany & crafts fromehensfurthe shall applie & bestowe to & upon the seid repacions and charges all the revenues rents & p̶fitts of all soche lands houses & tenements as thei or eny of theme now have or herafter shall have to the use behove of the seid companyes & crafts and the viij^s^ of yerelie penc̃on which is yeirlie payed by the peynters & carv̊s unto the seid charges shall yeirelie be payed & go to the same charges And that the seid maisters now electe & hereafter to be electe maisters of the seid craftes shall yeirelie upon suche a day as the seid maisters shall appoynt & agre accompeny theme selfs to gether & bryng in & make a true & a full account ev̊y of theme to the other of all ther seid receites revenues & p̶fittes And the seid charges & the charges of the kepyng of harnes belongyng to the seid crafts w^t^ the weiryng of the same in the watches & other necessarie charges & busynes for the seid craftes allowed payed & p̶formed the ov̊pluse of the seid money of the seid revenues p̶fitts & money shalbe bestowed & put in a box w^t^ two locks & two keyes the on key to remeyne w^t^ the m'rs of the craft of cardmakers & sadelers And the other key to remeyn w^t^ the maisters of the craft of capps savelie to keipe the seid money in the seid box untill they have nede to bestow it upon the seid charges or otherwyse as they shall thynk convenyent & the seid box to remayn in the said chappell fastoned w^t^ a cheyne.

" Also it is enacted by the auctoritie & consent aforseid that the maisters & cõpeny of the craft of capps shall fromehensfurth femyliarlie & lovynglie accompeny & sitt together in the seid chappell w^t^ the seid compeny & craft of cardemakers & sadelers to here ther dyvyne s̊vice And also shall go together in ther

p'cessions & *watches* too & too together And that the seid cõpeny & craft of card-makers & sadelers shall have the pemynence & ov̊hande in ther sittyngs & goyng together oon yere & the seid crafte & compeny of capprs shall lykewyse have the pemynence & ov̊ hande in ther sittyngs & goyng together oon yeire & the seid Craft & company of Capprs shall likewise have the p'emynence & ov^{r} hande in ther sittyngs & goyngs the other yeire and so contynew frome yeire to yeire lovynglie fromehensfurthe so that the seid cardemakers & sadelers shall not lack ther rome nor sittyng in the seid chappell."—*Leet Book, fo.* 357.

In January, 1536, the Card-makers and Sadlers conveyed the afore-named Chapel and Pageant to the Mayor, Aldermen, &c. and in the same month they were re-conveyed to the Cappers: afterwards, viz. on the 24th April, 1537, the following Order of Leet was made:—

"It' whereas the Meire Aldermen Bailleffs & Cõialtie of this Citie by ther wrytyng indented & sealled w^{t} ther cõen Seall have g̃aunted given & dymysed unto the M'r. Kep̊s frånitie & company of the Craft of Capps of this Citie The Chappell pagyaunt & pagyaunt house which was latelie surrendered & given upp by wrytyngs to theme by the ffrånitie & company of Cardemakers & Sadelers It is nowe enacted by Auctoritie of this lete that the seid frånitie & company of Capps shall enjoy the seid pagiaunt pagiaunt house & Chappell accordyng to the teno^{r} of the seid wrytyng."

The first time the Cappers' Company exhibited their newly acquired Pageant was in 1534, when it appears that 31s. 5½d. was expended in "Repac'ons made of the Pageant & players ger," and 30s. 4d. for rehearsals and charges of playing. From this period until 1580 [q] the Pageant was regularly exhibited; a pause then ensues until 1584, when in conjunction with the Sheremen and Taylors, a *new Pageant*, "The Destruction of Jerusalem," was performed, (the particulars of which will be given hereafter.) In 1591 they played once more "at the Mayors commandment," and here ended the exhibition of the Cappers' Pageant.

The regular subject of their Pageant was the *Resurrection and Descent into Hell*, including probably our Saviour's appearance to Mary Magdalen in the garden.

q In 1574, and for some subsequent years, the Card-makers and Sadlers contributed 13s. 4d. annually to the Cappers towards their Pageant: likewise the Company of Walkers 6s.; Skinners 4s; Painters and Joyners 3s. 4d.

Amongst the various items of Pageant expenditure by this Company are the following:—

Itm̃ pd for a pece of tymber for an Apeltrie .....ij^{s} iij^{d}

Itm̃ pd for ij cloutes a clamp & other yron worke about þ^{e} Apeltre....xij^{d}

which at first sight might lead to a conjecture that the history of *the Fall* was sometimes exhibited by them; but the ensuing stage direction and extract from the same subject in the Ludus Coventriæ, will shew that Adam and Eve, though not particularized in the list of performers in the Cappers' Pageant (in consequence probably of these short and subordinate parts being taken by persons who had played other characters in an earlier portion of the Pageant) were nevertheless indispensable requisites, and the introduction of this appropriate and distinguishing symbol is thus readily accounted for.

"Tunc dormyent milites & ueniet Aĩa xp̄i de inferno
cũ Adam Et Euã. Abrahm̃ Johñ baptist & Alijs.

Aĩa x^{i}. Come forthe Adam & Eue w^{t} the
And all my fryndys þ^{t} her in be
to paradys come forthe w^{t} me
In blysse for to dwelle
þ^{e} fende of helle þ^{t} is ȝo^{r} ffoo
he xal be wrappyd & woundy' in woo
Fro wo to welthe now xul ȝe go
W^{t} myrthe evyr mor to melle."

From the payment of 13d. in 1540 "for the matter of þ^{e} castell of emaus," it appears that this subject (which in the Ludus Coventriæ forms the 36th Pageant, and immediately follows that of Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalen) was then added to the exhibition of the Cappers: but no further particulars are discoverable in the Accounts of the Company, and as Cleophas and Luke are the only characters introduced, besides that of our Saviour; it seems reasonable to conclude that they were represented by performers who had personated other characters in the former part of the Pageant.

Proceeding to analyze the Cappers' Pageant, in the manner adopted with that of the Smiths', the first subject which presents itself is the

CHARACTERS.

Pylate	Two Angels
God	Mary Magdalen (Mawdlen)
Mother of Death	Two side Maries
Four Knights	Demon
Spirit of God	Preface, sometimes Prologue
Our Lady	Deadman occurs 1574, 1576
Two Bishops	Singers

MACHINERY, &c.

Wind rope and a locker to the wind; a man to "tend" it,—sometimes three men
Hell mouth. Boards about the *Sepulchre* side of the Pageant
Apple tree—timber for it, and there is at the same time a charge for "clouts" and a "clamp" of iron for it
Two ledges for the Pageant, two Standers for the same, and there are charges for "setting up" the fore part of the Pageant, and timber to bear the side of it.

DRESSES AND IMPLEMENTS.

Cloak for Pilate	Our Ladies Crown
Coat for Magdalen	The Marie's Crowns (flowered)
Coat for the Spirit of God, made of Buckram	Mall or Club for Pilate
	Balls for Pilate
Coat for the Demon	Mall or Club for the Demon
Surplices or Albs for the Angels	The Demon's Head (or vizor)
Gowns for the Bishops	Rattle, Spade
Hoods and Mitres for ditto	Two Crosses, Poleaxe, and Bow
"Roles" for the Maries	Four White[r] Harness
Gloves, Stars, Diadems, and Censers	Two Streamers and Pensells

Thread, Cord, Wire, "white Incoll," Nails, tenter Hooks, Rings, Points, & Rushes

It has been observed, p. 19, that in an Inventory of Ornaments, Jewels, Goods, &c. belonging to the Cappers' Chapel, 28 Henry VIII. the following entry occurs:—"It' ij pajiont Clothes of the passion," and a conjecture is hazarded that these clothes, whether painted or tapestry work, were displayed on the

[r] Bright or polished, a term used to distinguish this from black or unpolished common armour.

Vehicle, or used for covering the lower room of it, at the time of representing the Cappers' Pageant.

MUSIC, &c.

A customary charge is "paid to the Minstrell" usually 8d. There also occur these items: "for makinge þ^e Songe"—and "for prikynge the songes··xvj^d"—again, in 1569, "payd Thomas Nyclys for prikinge þ^e songes··xij^d."

PLAY BOOKS.

Pd for making new of þ^e plea book ..... v^s
Pd for þ^e matter of þ^e castell of emaus ..... xiij^d
Pd for writyng a pte for herre pson ..... j^d

The "Clerk," or as the entry is sometimes found, "the keeper of the playe Book," had 12d. for attending the exhibition, where he doubtless officiated as Prompter.

USUAL EXPENCES OF PERFORMING.

Dressing the Pageant	6d.
A person going with it	10d.
The Clerk for bearing the (Play) Book or "the keeper of the playe Book"	12d.
Spent at the first rehearsal, to the players	18d.
on the Company	7s. 4d.
Spent at the second rehearsal, to the players	18d.
on the Company	7s.
Players' Supper	2s.
Drink to the drivers of the Pageant	12d.
Twelve Men driving it	2s.
Drink to the players between the play times[s]	13d.
Paid Pilate, the Bishops, and Knights, to drink between the "stages"	9d.

The annual charge for playing the Pageant was about 35s. until 1550, afterwards 45s. to 50s.

In 1548, the Cappers received 3s. 4d. from the Whittawers' Company, for the "hyer of our pageand."

[s] This item and the following one is explained by the circumstance of the Pageant being performed in different parts of the City and twelve Men generally were paid for drawing the vehicle from station to station; sometimes eight and ten are mentioned in the accounts.

The charges of exhibiting the Pageant will be further illustrated by the following items:—

payd for the players drynkynge at þ^e^ swanne dore ..... ij^s^ viij^d^
p'd for o^r^ supper on þ^e^ play day for o^r^selves, goodman Mawpas, þ^e^ minstrull þ dresser [t] of þ^e^ pagent & þ^e^ somner & his wyfe ..... iiij^s^
p'd for havyng þ^e^ pagent in & out ..... xij^d^
p'd for four whit harnesse ..... xvj^d^
p'd for v dossan poyntes ..... iiij^d^
p'd for Rysshes ..... j^d^
p'd for sope & gres ..... ij^d^

The entire charge and particulars of exhibiting the Pageant in 1565, are subjoined:—

Costes & charges of the pagyande

It' payd to pylate ..... iiij^s^
It' payd to the iiij knyghts ..... iiij^s^ viij^d^
It' payd to the ij bysshopes ..... ij^s^
It' payd to god ..... xx^d^
It' paide to the sprytt of god ..... xvj^d^
It' payd to the ij angelles ..... viij^d^
It' payd to the iij maryes ..... ij^s^
It' payd to þ^e^ demon ..... xvj^d^
It' payd to the mynstrell ..... viij^d^
It' payd for vj dossyn of poyntes ..... xij^d^
It' payd for reprasyons of the pagyand, tymber nayles & iren ..... vij^s^ viij^d^
It' p'd for the hyer of iiij harnes & scorrynge of our harnes ..... iiij^s^
It' p'd for dresynge & colorynge the bysshoppes hodes ..... ij^s^
It' p'd for makynge the hoodes & mendynge maudlyn coate ..... xij^d^
It' spent at taverne ..... xij^d^
It' payd for a hoke of Iren ..... xvj^d^
It' payd for one whelle ..... ij^s^ ij^d^

Som̃ ... xlj^s^ x^d^.

[t] Besides the "dresser of the pageant" it was not unusual to have a Carpenter in attendance.
1553.—pd to þ^e^ carpent^r^ for tendyng on þ^e^ pageant ..... xij^d^
1554.—pd þ^e^ carpenter for tendyng þ^e^ pageant (and some repairs) ..... xvj^d^

More charges of þ^e pagyand

It' spent at þ^e first rehearse at the brekefast of þ^e companye.....v^s viij^d
It' spent at the second reherse .....vj^s ij^d
It' payd to the players at þ^e ij reherse .....iij^s
It' payd at þ^e havynge out & settynge in of the pageand .....xij^d
It' payd for dressynge þ^e pagiand & kepynge the wynde.....xij^d
It' payde to the dryvers .....iiij^s
It' payde to the dryvers in drynke .....viij^d
It' payde to the players betwene the stages.....viij^d
It' payd for the players sopper.....ij^s viij^d
It' payd for rosshes & small corde .....iij^d
It' payd for balles.....x^d
It' payd for iij gawnes of ale in the pagiand .....xij^d
It' payd to the syngers.....xvj^d
It' payd for a payre of gloves for pylate .....iiij^d
It' payd for grece .....iij^d
It' payd for our sopper at nyght .....iij^s
It' payd for furrynge of the hoodes.....viij^s

Som̃....xxxix^s x^d.

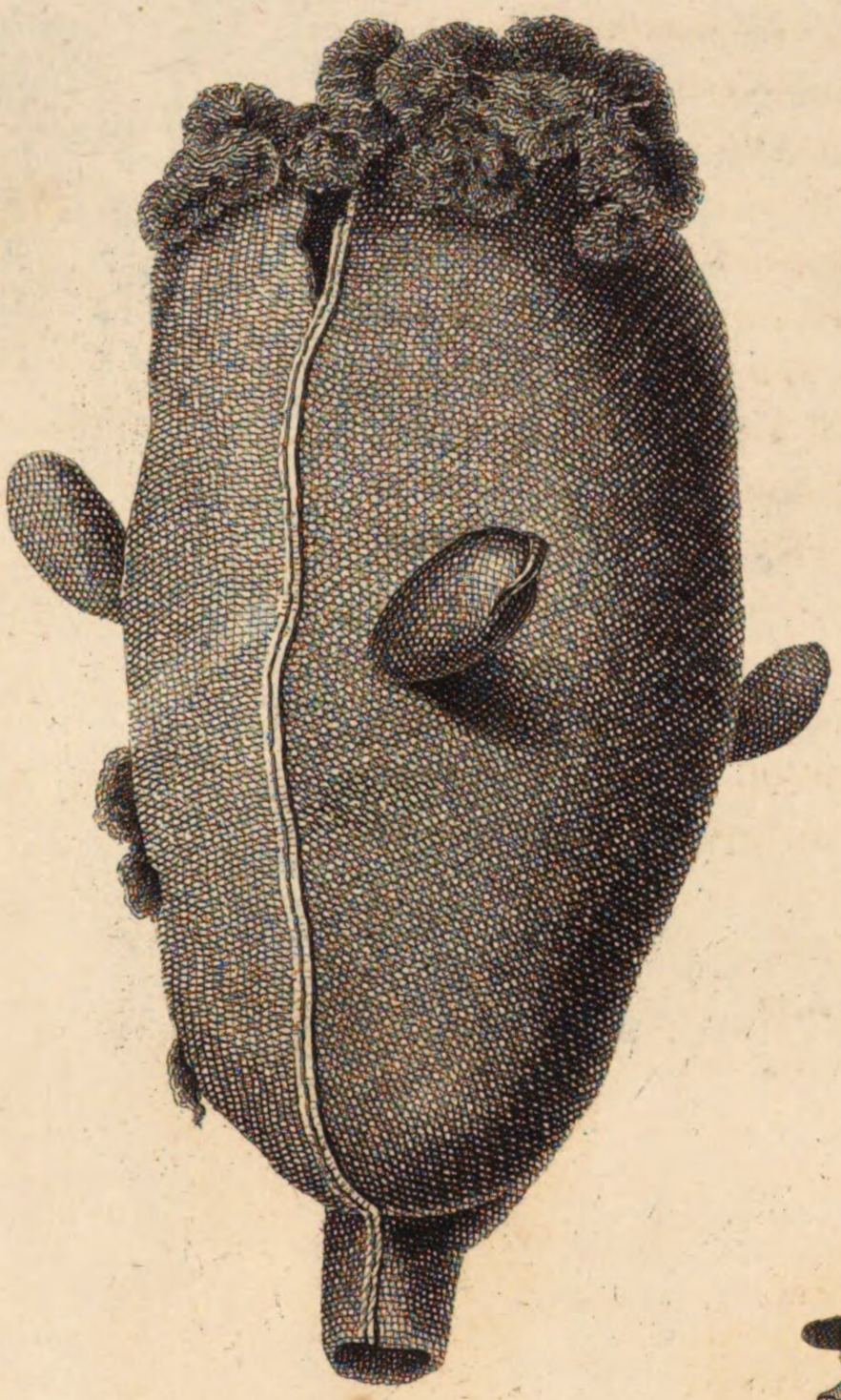
PILATE

Is the first character in the list; and the principal items illustrative of the dress and appendages of this personage are as follow:—

A Cloak, which probably was *green*, as there is a charge of 6d. for "a skeane of grene silke" to mend it, and the "mendyng."

Makyng of pylatts malle[u].....xxij^d
A new malle.....xx^d Ditto.....ij^s j^d
pd Richard Hall for makyng pylates clubbe .....xiij^d
pd ffor ij pounde & halfe off woole ffor the same clubbe .....x^d
pd ffor mendyng of pylatts malle.....iij^d
pd for balles for pylatt..iij^d lether for balles....ij^d balls....iiij^d—xij^d
pd for makyng of xvj balls & for ij skyns of lether.....v^d
pd for a skyn for balls, for makyng & sowyng .....v^d
pd for balls & for mendyng of pylatts cloobe.....iiij^d

[u] There is a charge for painting the Mall.



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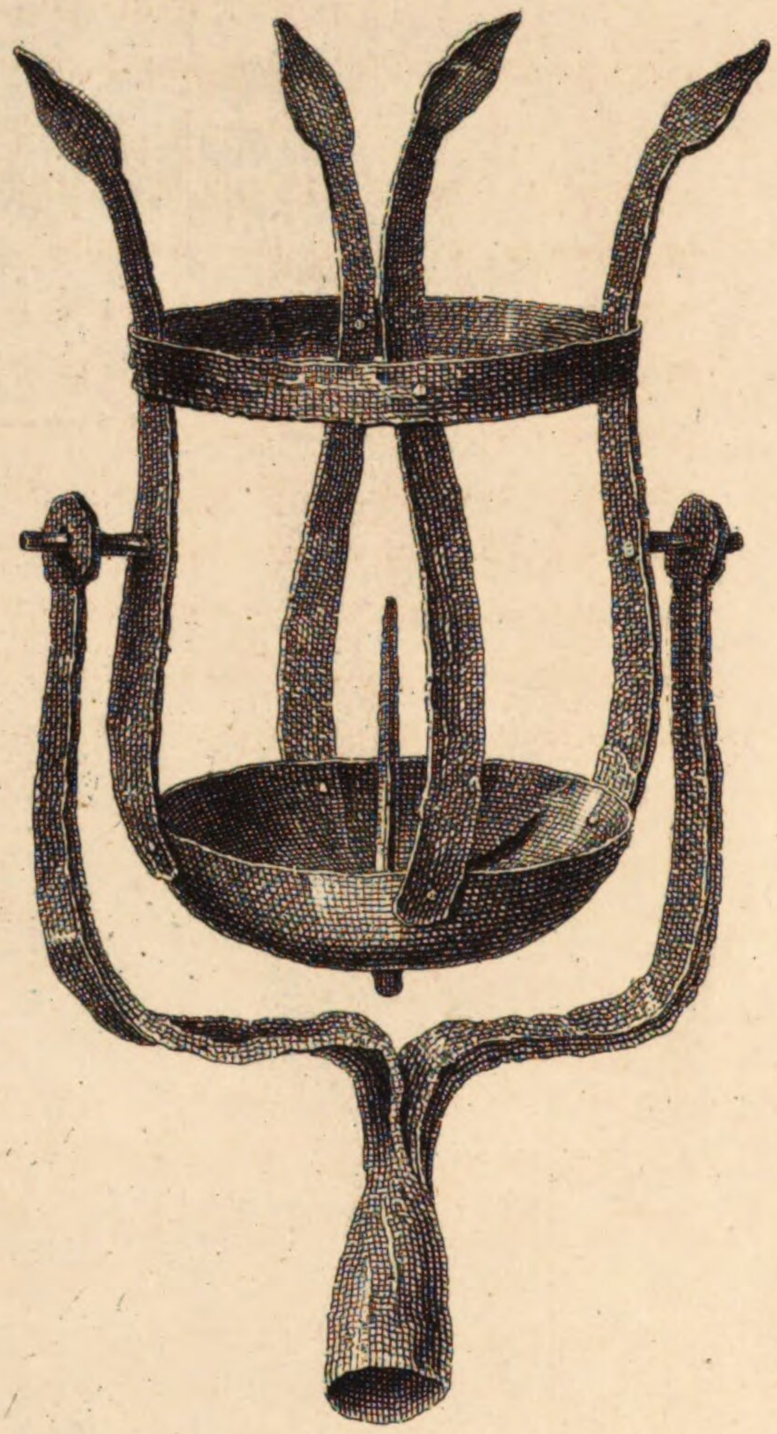

2

3

1, PILATE'S CLUB OR MALL,

17 Inches long.

2, CRESSET.

19 & ½ Inches long.

3, CRESSET BEARER

& attendant.

D. Tee del. et sc.

Coventry Published by Merridew & Son July. 1 1825

p'd for a payre of gloves for pylate.....iiij^{d}
p'd for assyden for pilat head .....ij^{d}
p'd for canvas..vj^{d}; & the makyng of pylats doblet..xvj^{d} .....xxij^{d}

Pilate was evidently the principal character in the Cappers' Pageant; the performer receiving 4s. (a much larger sum than was paid to the player of any other part,) and a pair of gloves was also given him. Little more can be ascertained of his dress than the above-described Green Cloak, and that his head was ornamented with Assaden or Orsyden (see notes r and s, p. 29.) By a variety of entries, given above, it appears he had a Club or Mall, stuffed with wool, and that the exterior was formed of leather is authenticated by the actual existence of such a Club or Mall, discovered about the year 1790, by the writer of this dissertation, in an antique chest within the Cappers' Chapel (together with an Iron Cresset and some fragments of Armour,) where it had probably remained ever since the breaking up of the Pageant. An engraving of it is given in plate 9, by a reference to which it will be seen that the Club *head* only was of leather, stuffed with wool, and that it was fixed upon an handle or staff of wood, the insertion of which into the stuffed leather is very evident, although the handle itself is broken off. Besides this Club, a number of balls, made of leather, and probably filled with wool or some such light substance (though the actual entry of any other material than leather has not occurred,) were provided for this character; there are several entries of Balls, and no fewer than 16, requiring two skins of leather, are charged at one time. The purposes for which the Club and Balls were appropriated to this personage, have been in vain sought after by the writer, and he confesses his utter inability to form any reasonable conjecture as to their uses. If the Club should even be considered as an emblem of office (which is not very probable,) still the Balls remain involved in mystery, which, without the recovery of the "Play Book," is not likely to be removed.

In the prologue to the *Miller's* Tale, Chaucer, describing that personage, says that he

"Ne abiden no man for his curtesie,
But in *Pilates vois* he gan to crie,
And swore by armes, and by blood, and bones,
I can a noble tale for the nones."

Tyrwhitt's remark upon this passage is—"In such a voice as Pilate was used

to speak with in the Mysteries. Pilate, being an odious character, was probably represented as speaking with a harsh, disagreeable voice."

The preceding extract, and Tyrwhitt's comment, are given to assist the reader in forming his opinion of the character of Pilate, as represented in the Mysteries; but it is right to add, that upon a careful perusal of the part assigned to him in the Ludus Coventriæ, nothing has been discovered which marks an intention of rendering his "an odious character," unless it is thought that the writer of the Pageant, in making Pilate a party to the measures taken by the Chief Priests to prevent the soldiers from declaring the truth as to the resurrection of our Saviour, may be so considered. The speeches given to Pilate are very faithfully formed upon the scriptural history of his conduct until the period when the guard set to watch the sepulchre, are supposed to have been awakened by an earthquake, and perceiving that the body of Christ was gone, hasten to Pilate, instead of going to the Chief Priests, (as recorded by St. Matthew,) and one of them declares that he is risen: upon which Pilate replies:—

What! what! what! what!
Out upon the why sayst þ^{u} þ^{t}?
Fy vpon the harlat
How darst þ^{u} so say;
þ^{u} dosh my' herte ryght grett greff
þ^{u} lyest vpon hym fals theff
How xulde he rysyn a geyn to lyff
þ^{t} lay deed in clay?

This is the only passage in the Pageant that shews the smallest degree of violence or anger in his character; but the writer of the Pageant departs from the narrative of St. Matthew in causing Pilate, after a declaration on the part of the soldiers that they will "telle þ^{e} trewth ryght as it lay" to wait until he calls his council together, which being done, Annas and Caiphas advise that they should be bribed with "golde & sylver þis wundyrful tale to hede" [hide, conceal,] and Pilate accordingly directs them to "Sey he was w^{t} his dyscyplis fett" giving them a purse of gold; a very extraordinary deviation from the account given by the Evangelist, who makes the Chief Priests and Elders, after giving the soldiers money, add:—"And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you."—Matthew, chap. xxviii. v. 14.

GOD.

The next character in the list is "God;" and if the mind now revolts at this familiar, and, to our ideas, irreverent use of the name and personification of the Deity, be it remembered no such feelings were excited at the time of this exhibition, nay perhaps this gross representation to the senses of the principal events in Sacred History, was not without its beneficial consequences; and the clerk who in the entry of Pageant expences in the accounts of the Cappers' Company wrote "Itm̃ payd to God··xvj^{d}" might be as truly devout and as practically a good christian as he who now with perfect propriety shudders at the seeming insult to his Maker: but to judge correctly upon the subject, it is necessary we should recur to the period when the event happened, and this being done, our ideas will undergo a material change.[v]

No article of dress explicitly intended for this character appears in the Accounts. There is a charge for painting, inter alia, þ Rattel, þ^{e} Spade & ij crossys & hell mowythe" and also an item of expences for boards used about the *Sepulchre* side of the Pageant.

The spade, crosses, hell-mouth (of which more hereafter,) and the sepulchre, naturally refer themselves to this character; and possibly the rattle might be used by the persons watching the sepulchre.[w]

MOTHER OF DEATH.

Nothing occurs that can with certainty be appropriated to this character, and

[v] Mr. Markland, in the Introduction to his "Chester Mysteries," pp. xv. xvi. has so well discussed this point as to leave nothing for the present writer to advance. He wishes, however, to refer the reader to a well-written passage in Cromek's Remains, p. 70, upon the subject of refinement in taste, and the rejection, as gross and indelicate, of compositions which our ancestors countenanced and admired; and will conclude this note with an observation by the intelligent author of "Recollections in the Peninsula," upon the performance of Religious subjects at Lisbon in 1811:—

"The scenic representations of Gospel history, which on high fasts and festivals are to be met with, in almost all the churches of the Peninsula, however ridiculous they may appear, are not without their use; for to them (most inadequate, I admit, to their purpose,) the poorer classes are, nevertheless, indebted for much of the instruction they receive, concerning the life and miracles of the divine Founder of our blessed faith."

[w] No apology can be required for inserting the following very appropriate and curious extract from the MS. Life of John Shaw, Vicar of Rotherham, an honest Divine, puritanically inclined, who with infinite *naiveté*, says Mr. DIsraeli, has told what happened to himself, and amongst other matters, thus relates a remarkable story of the state of religious knowledge in Lancashire, at a place called Cartmel:—

"I found a very large spacious church, scarce any seats in it; a people very ignorant, and yet willing to learn; so I had frequently some thousands of hearers. I catechised in season and out of season. The churches were so thronged at nine in the morning, that I had much ado to get to the pulpit. One day, an old man of

the want of the Play Book is greatly to be regretted, as it might tend to elucidate this personification of *Sin*. x

FOUR KNIGHTS.

For these characters the four suits of white (or bright) armour were procured, for which a regular entry of 16d. occurs, being the sum paid for the use of them. These persons certainly attended the Crucifixion, and perhaps formed a part of Pilate's suite.

SPIRIT OF GOD.

I once hesitated in determining whether this character represented God the Father, or was meant for our Saviour after his resurrection; but a very ingenious friend says:—"I suspect the 'Spirit of God' to mean the Holy Ghost. This third person in the Trinity was not always represented as a dove, but occasionally as a human figure, as some old prints demonstrate."

Itm̃ payd for þ^e spret of gods cote ..... ij^s
Itm̃ payd for þ^e makyng of þ^e same cote ..... viij^d
Itm̃ payd for ij yardes and halfe off bockram to make the spirits cote.. ij^s j^d
Itm̃ payd for makynge the same cote ..... viij^d

The above items ascertain the nature of the dress, which was doubtless

sixty, sensible enough in other things, and living in the parish of Cartmel, coming to me on some business, I told him that he belonged to my care and charge, and I desired to be informed in his knowledge of religion. I asked him how many Gods there were? He said he knew not. I informing him, asked again how he thought to be saved? He answered he could not tell. Yet thought that was a harder question than the other. I told him that the way to salvation was by Jesus Christ; God-man, who, as he was man, shed his blood for us on the cross, &c. Oh Sir, said he, I think I heard of that man you speak of once in a play at Kendall, called Corpus Christ's play, where there was a man on a tree, and blood run down, &c. And afterwards he professed he could not remember that he ever heard of salvation by Jesus, but in that play.

DIsraeli's Curiosities of Literature, second series, vol. iii. 343, 4.

x Amongst various conjectures as to the origin of Milton's famous allegory, a passage in Latimer's Sermons, 1584, fo. 79, has been referred to:—"Here came in *death* and hell; *sinne was their mother*. Therefore they must have such an image as their mother sinne would give them:" and besides remarking that Death being a *person* in the Adamo of Andreini, might forcibly recur to Milton's memory, it is observed that *Death* is one of the characters in the old Morality of *Every Man*. Perhaps we may with equal probability hazard a conjecture that Milton had witnessed the representation of some Religious Mystery in Italy, wherein the personification of *Sin* was introduced, as in the Cappers' Pageant: or possibly he found such a character in some of our English Mysteries in MS. many of which doubtless remained in his time. At all events, the existence of such a personification in our ancient Mysteries is fully established by the article which produced the present note.

painted. Very many instances of painted buckram [y] dresses occur in these accounts.

OUR LADY.

Itm̃ paide for mendyng our ladys crowne .....ij[d]

TWO BISHOPS.

These persons we may safely conjecture, notwithstanding the play-writer has, by no very uncommon species of anachronism, given them titles peculiar to the Christian Church, were Jewish Priests, very probably Caiaphas and Annas, as in the Smiths' Pageant. Their dresses were Gowns and Hoods (of buckram,) both furred, and Mitres.

Itm̃ paide for makyng þ[e] ij byschoppes gownse .....xxj[d]
Itm̃ p'd for furrying þ[e] sayd gownse.....ij[s] iiij[d]
Itm̃ payd to Mr Warynge for þ[e] rest of þ[e] bysshoppes gownse .....vij[d]
Itm̃ an ell of bockram for one of the bysshoppes.....xiij[d]
Itm̃ pd for makyng a whod for on of þ[e] byschopps .....iiij[d]
Itm̃ payd for dressynge & colorynge the bysshoppes hodes .....ij[s]
Itm̃ payd for furrynge of the hoodes .....viij
Itm̃ paide for makynge & colorynge þ[e] ij myters .....ij[s] iiij[d]
Itm̃ payd for payntyng the bisshoppes myters.

There likewise occurs a charge of 6d. "for mendyng of ij Senssars" which of course appertain to these characters.

TWO ANGELS.

Itm̃ payd for waschyng þ[e] angells albs .....ij

[y] In the year 1348, eighty tunics of *buckram*, forty-two visors, and a great variety of other whimsical dresses, were provided for the disguisings at Court, at the feast of Christmas.—*Henry's History of Britain, vol.* iv. *p.* 602.

"Bounce Buckram, velvet's dear,
Christmas comes but once a year;
And when it comes it brings good chear,
And when its gone its never the near."

Ray's Proverbs, p. 229, *edit.* 1768.

This rhyming proverb, it seems, was used at the conclusion of a bombastic or mock play, called "Alexander and the King of Egypt," usually acted in the North about Christmas, a copy of which Mr. Brand discovered several years ago, in the printing-office of Mr. Saint, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The lines quoted serve to illustrate the use of Buckram dresses, as substitutes for more costly ones, upon such occasions, and the term *Bounce* happily enough describes the rattling or rustling of the Buckram garments.

Itm̃ pd for mendynge þ^e angells surplisses & wasshyng .....iij^d

Perhaps " ij starrs" costing 12d. and " a dyadem" price 4d. may be appropriated to these characters.

MARY MAGDALEN OR MAWDLEN, AND TWO SIDE MARIES.

As no less than five Mary's[z] are mentioned in the New Testament, some difficulty might have occurred in appropriating the two " side Maries," but for the following passage in the parallel Pageant in the Ludus Coventriæ :—" hic venient ad sepulcrũ maria magdalene, maria iacobi, & marie Salome."

Itm̃ p'd for mendynge maudlyns cote.....iiij^d
Itm̃ payd for skowryng of maryes crowns .....j^d
Itm̃ for payntynge þ^e maries rolles .....iiij^d
Itm̃ p'd for a yard of bokeram .....xij^d
Itm̃ p'd for makynge þ^e roles.....ij^d
Itm̃ p'd for mendyng þ^e maries rolles .....ij^d
paid for mendyng the maries heare.....viij^d

The " rolles" I once conjectured to be a part of the head-dress. To this day an article so named is used by females in humble life, over which the hair is combed. Consult Strutt's View of Dresses and Habits, vol. ii. pp. 237 and 256. But as a yard of buckram was used in making those above quoted, and it is evident they were worn in a conspicuous situation from their being *painted*, a circumstance which would have been unnecessary had the hair been combed over them, I rather hesitate in this appropriation. See " Burlettes," p. 17, ante.

THE DEMON.

This character (as in the Smiths' Pageant) was furnished with a vizor or mask, and a club made of buckram and painted.

Itm̃ payde for mendynge þ^e devells cote and makyng the devells heade..iiij^s vj^d
Itm̃ payd to Harrye benett for mẽdynge the demons cote & makyng the head .....v^s
Itm̃ pd for makyng þ^e demons head .....xviij^d
Itm̃ payd for a yard of canvas for þ^e devells malle & for makyng .....viij^d
Itm̃ payd for payntyng þ^e devells clubbe.....(several entries)

[z] In Ottley's Catalogue of Engravings by Albert Durer, No. 48 is called " The Crucifixion, with the *four Maries* and St. John at the foot of the cross."—*History of Engraving, p.* 720.

Immediately connected with this character is a part of the machinery or Pageant apparatus denominated " Hell mouth," concerning which the entries that follow are selected :—

Itm̃ p'd for mendyng hellmowthe .....ij^{d}
Itm̃ payd for payntyng of hellmought .....iij^{d}
Itm̃ payd for makynge of hell mothe new.....xxj^{d}
Itm̃ paide Horsley (inter alia) for pentyng hell mowythe.

As no inconsiderable degree of invention and ingenuity was displayed in the personification of Satan and his dominions in our ancient Mysteries, it may not possibly lead to an unsatisfactory result if we pause in the further analysis of this Pageant, and collect into one point of view the illustrations afforded to these particular objects by the Coventry and other cotemporary documents, as well as to notice some graphic and pictorial representations of Devils and Hell-mouth, which as they were coeval with the performance of the Mysteries, may be presumed to bear some resemblance to the manner in which they were then exhibited.

The Devil in the Smiths' Pageant had a dress made of leather and coloured, in all probability *black*; he had also a painted vizor, which was frequently repaired or new painted, and a staff. The preceding extracts from the Cappers' Accounts contain various items as to the " head" or vizor, and instead of the " staff" of the Smiths' Company, their Devil was furnished with a club made of buckram and painted. The Demons of the Drapers' Pageant (hereafter to be more particularly noticed,) had vizors as the above, but their coats and hose were made of canvas, covered with hair, probably black horse hair, and no staff or club is mentioned, though we shall not be warranted in concluding from hence that they were unprovided with a weapon of the kind.

It appears from the following line in the Banes to the Chester Plays,

" The Devill in his *fethers*, all ragger and rent,"

that the Chester Devil wore a feather dress, to which the Demons of the Drapers' Pageant, in suits covered with black horse hair, would bear some resemblance.

An extract from Heywood's Interlude of the Four Ps., previously noticed, is repeated here, to shew that the character of the Devil was so admirably repre-

sented in the Coventry Plays as to admit of the author's feigning that his *real* Devil had often performed the part there:—

" For as good hap would have it chaunce,
This devil and I were of olde acquaintaunce;
For oft, in the play of Corpus Christi,
He hath playd the devil at Coventrie."

Our commentators on Shakespeare remark, that in the ancient Religious Plays this character was usually represented with horns, a very wide mouth (by means of a mask,) staring eyes, a large nose, a red beard, cloven feet, and a tail. In the performances of the Moralities, which were of later origin than Mysteries, his constant attendant was the *Vice*, or buffoon of the piece, "And," says Harsenet in his Declaration of Popish Impostures, 4to. 1603, "it was a pretty part in the old church-playes when the nimble Vice would skip up nimbly like a Jack-an-apes into the Devil's necke, and ride the devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden-dagger, 'till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to see the Devil so Vice-haunted."

The following description of the Devil in Gammer Gurton's Needle occurs in a conversation between Hodge and Gammer:—

"*Gam:* But Hodg, had he no horns to push?
Hodg: As long as your two armes. Saw ye never fryer Rushe
Painted on cloth, with a side long cowe's tayle,
And crooked cloven feet, and many a hoked nayle?
For al the world (if I should judg) chould reckon him his brother;
Loke, even what face frier Rush had, the devil had such another."

A frequent exclamation used by the Demons of our ancient Mysteries was Ho, ho! In the old play above named, we meet with the following illustrations of the practice:—

"*Hodg:* But Diccon, Diccon, did not the devil cry *Ho, ho, ho?*"

"*Hodge.* By the masse, ich saw him of late call up a great blacke devill
O, the knave cried *ho, ho,* he roared and he thundered."

And in Goulart's Histories, 1607:—"The fellow —— coming to the stove —— sawe the Divills in horrible formes, some sitting, some standing, others walking, some ramping against the walles, but al of them assoone as they beheld him, crying *Hoh, hoh,* what makest thou here?"

A third instance is as follows:—"A roaring devil enters, with the Vice on his back, Iniquity in one hand, and Juventus in the other, crying—

"*Ho, ho, ho!* these babes mine are all."

Another exclamation frequently put into their mouths, is "Out haro out," expressive of fear and alarm. Thus, in the Pageant of "Extractio Animarum," in the Towneley Mysteries, a Devil, at the approach of Christ to deliver the souls from limbo on his descent into hell, exclaims:—"*Out harro out,* what devil is he that calls hym kyng over us all?" And in the Ludus Coventriæ, "Belyall" is made to say upon the same occasion:—

"Alas Alas *out & harrow*
Onto þi byddynge must we bow
Þ^{t} þ^{u} art god now do we know."

In the "Judicium," or Pageant of the Last Judgement, in the Towneley volume of Mysteries, one of the Demons, upon the sounding of the final trump, thus expresses himself:—

"*Oute haro out out:* harkyn to this horne
I was never in dowte: or now at this morne
So sturdy a showte: sen that I was borne
Hard I never here abowte: in ernest ne in skorne.

And the awful summons of Michael the Archangel, in the Ludus Coventriæ:—

"Surgite, all men Aryse
venite ad Judicium
For now is sett þ^{e} hyȝ justice,"

is in the parallel passage in the Judicium followed by these words:—

O'ES DEMONES CLAMANT

Harrow & out what xal we say
harrow we crye *owt* And Alas
Alas *harrow* is þis þ^t^ day
to endeles peyne þ^t^ us must pas
Alas *harrow & owt* we crye."

Hearne, in the appendix to his edition of Fordun's Scoti-chronicon, vol. v p. 1403, has given a print from a drawing in an ancient calendar, representing Christ delivering souls from limbo, in which a Devil is introduced blowing a horn as if to alarm his comrades, and over him are the words "Out out arouȝt", which he may be supposed to have previously used. In this print the Devil holds in his left hand a prong with three curved points or hooks*, an instrument of torture very frequently occurring in ancient personifications of Demons, and of which several instances may be seen in the annexed engravings, amongst which the representation of Israel Van Mechlin's curious and rare copy of the print of the Temptation of St. Anthony, by Martin Schoen a, though perhaps less illustrative of the diabolical personages of our Mysteries than some of the figures contained in the other plates, appeared too singular and interesting to be omitted. The Devil in the Cappers' Pageant had a "club" made of buckram, painted, and probably stuffed with wool, as Pilate's club or mall was; and from the frequent charges for painting and repairing it, we may presume that by way of exciting merriment, he laid about him during the time of performance on such persons as were within his reach, as well as in those instances where it was required in the play. A "staff" was assigned to the Devil in the Smiths' Pageant, which probably bore a resemblance to the prong above mentioned, though it must be confessed that the club was a much more harmless weapon. But the most remarkable manner of exhibiting this character that has occurred to the writer, will be found in the directions for the performance of the Mystery or Morality of the "Castle of Good Perseverance," a fac-simile engraving of which is given, plate 2, and is as follows:—"& he þ^t^ schal pley belyal, loke þ^t^ he have guñe powd^r^ breñnḡ in pypys ĩ h's hands & ĩ h's ers [ears] & ĩ h's ars whañe he gothe to batayl."

* See note and an engraving of this instrument in Reed's Shakspeare, vol. x. p. 29, Edit. 1813.

a Vasari, speaking of this print, says, "Fece S. Antonio battuto da i diavoli, & portato in aria da una infinita di loro: In le piu varie & bizarre forme, che si possino imaginare, laquale carta tanto piacque a Michelagnolo, essendo giovinetto, che si mise à colorirla."—*Primo vol. della* iii. *parte*, p. 295.

I·V·M·

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Proof

To the preceding entries respecting the important portion of scenic apparatus or rather machinery in our Religious Pageants, denominated

HELL MOUTH,

it will be requisite to add certain items from the account of the Drapers' Pageant, before we proceed to investigate the subject:—

1537.—Itm̃ paide for payntyng & makyng newe hell hede..... xij^{d}
1538.—Itm payd for mendyng of hell hede ..... vj^{d}
1542.—payde for makyng helle hede.....viij^{s} ij^{d}
1554.—It' payd for payntyng hell hede newe ..... xx^{d}
1556.—payde for kepynge [attending] hell hede..... ....viij^{d}
1565.—p'd to Jhon Huyt for payntyng of hell mowthe ..... .xvj^{d}
1567.—p'd for makyng hell mowth and cloth for hyt.....iiij^{s}

From these items we learn that cloth was used in the making of Hell-mouth (probably canvas,) and that it was frequently painted.

The charge for making (apparently) a new one, in 1542, was 8s. 2d. and from an item in 1556, it seems that one person or more attended it, probably to open and shut the mouth as became necessary, since in the account of the performance of "*Le Mystere de la passion Jesus Christ*" at Veximiel, in 1437, it is observed that "the *Mouth of Hell* was very well done, for it opened and shut when the devils required to enter and come out, and had two large eyes of steel." The print in Hearne's edition of Fordun, before mentioned, has a representation of Hell-mouth, and indeed this appears to have been so favourite a subject with our ancient illuminators, painters, and engravers, that some difficulty has occurred in selecting the specimens from which the annexed engravings were made. Strutt, describing the manner of representing the Mysteries, says that on one side of the lowest platform was the resemblance of a dark pitchy cavern, from whence issued the appearance of fire and flames;—and that from this yawning cave the devils themselves constantly ascended to delight and to instruct the spectators. And in the *Mirrour for Magistrates* we find a description of hell so similar to the Pageantic exhibitions, as to induce a belief that the author's ideas were in some measure formed upon the scene he had witnessed:—

"An hideous hole all vaste, withouten shape,
Of endlesse depth, orewhelm'd with ragged stone,
With ougly mouth, and griesly iawes doth gape,
And to our sight confounds itselfe in one."

In a note of "the properties" belonging to the play of *Old Tobit*, performed at Lincoln 6th of Elizabeth, [1564,][b] the first article is "Hell-mouth with a nether chap," and in an "Enventary of all the properties of my Lord Admiralles" players 1598, we find "Item j rocke, j cage, j tombe, j *Hell-mought*."

The first of the prints, plate 5, introduced to illustrate these subjects, is engraved from a drawing by the late Mr. Strutt, in the collection of F. Douce, Esq. exactly the size of the ancient and highly curious original which forms one of a series of illuminated drawings of the 11th century, illustrative of the Old and New Testament, being part of the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, where the MS. is arranged under the Effigies of Nero, c. iv.

The illuminator has shewn some imagination in the design of the enormous gaping mouth of hell, which he has ornamented with several lesser heads in the grotesque style that usually characterizes the designs of that period; and the two large eyes form very prominent objects. The passage in Scripture intended to be illustrated appears to be the last judgment. There are three crowned figures amongst the unhappy victims, recently admitted into this horrid receptacle, one of whom is a female; another is remarkable for having an helmet on his head, the form of which is clearly referable to the period assigned to the drawings,

[b] The entire article is so well calculated to illustrate the manner in which our ancient Mysteries were exhibited, that it is given verbatim below:—

"A note of the particulars of the properties of the stage-play played at Lincoln in the month of July, A°. 6 regine Elizabethe, in the mayoralty of Richard Carter; which play was then played in Broadgate in the said city, and it was the story of *Old Tobit* in the Old Testament.

Lying at Mr Norton's house, in the tenure of Wm Smart.

First, Hell mouth, with a nether chap.
Item, A prison with a covering.
Item, Sarah's chambre.

Remaining in St Swithin's church:

Item, a great idol, with a club.
Item, a tomb, with a covering.
Item, the cyty of Jerusalem, with towers and pinnacles.
Item, the cyty of Rages. with towers and pinnacles.
Item, the cyty of Nineveh.
Item, the king's palace of Nineveh.
Item, Old Tobye's house.
Item, the Israelite's house, and the neighbour's house.
Item, the King's palace at Laches.
Item, a firmament, with a fiery cloud and a double cloud, in the custody of Tho. Fulbeck, alderman."—*Gentleman's Magazine, vol.* 54, *p.* 103.

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D. Lee sc.

HELL-MOUTH & INTERIOR.

From the Chapel at Stratford upon Avon.

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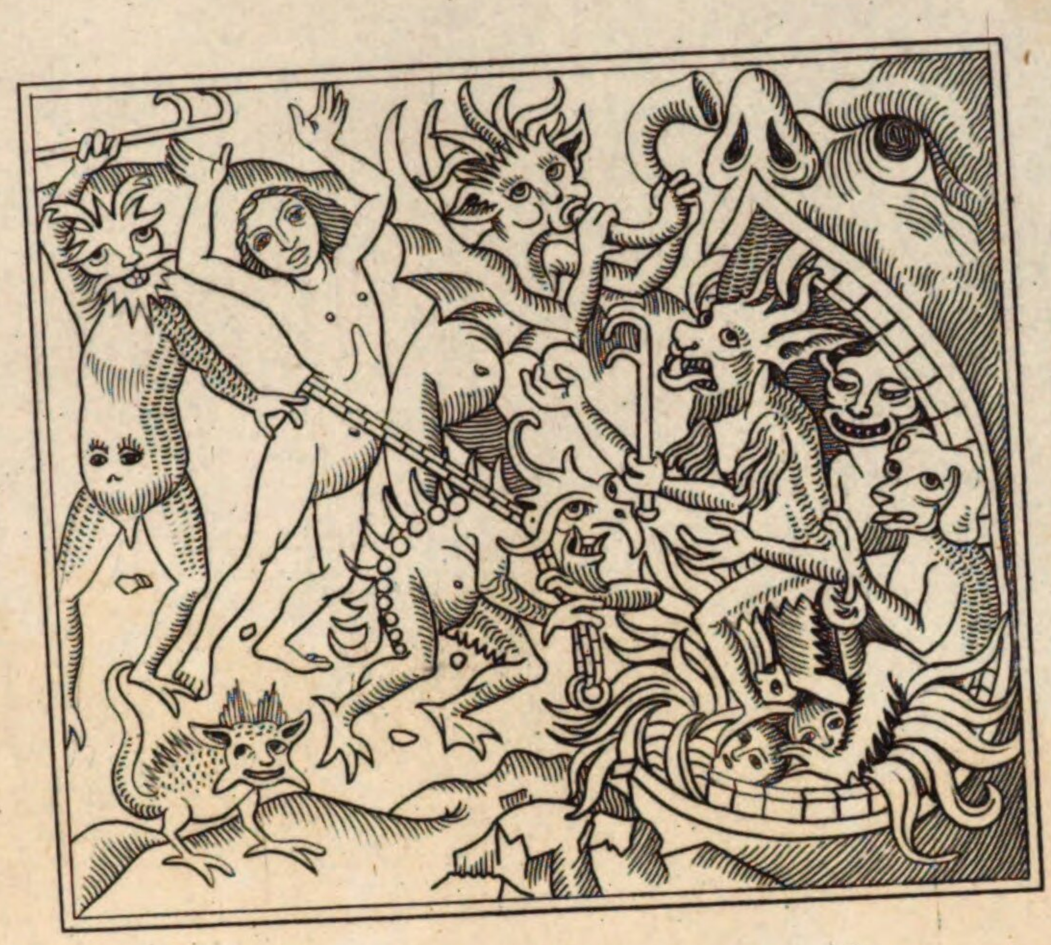
Proof

D Jee. sc.

HELL-MOUTH.

From an ancient German Wood-cut in the possession of Francis Douce Esqr.

Coventry. Published by Merridew & Son. July 1. 1825.



3

2

1

D. Jee sc.

MISCELLANEOUS PLATE.

and the expression of the master demon grinning in satanic delight at this accession to the number of his subjects, is highly characteristic. The figure closing and locking the door of hell, is probably intended for the Archangel Michael.

The second print, plate 6, is a portion of the last judgment, from a painting in fresco over the great arch separating the nave from the chancel of the Chapel of the Holy Cross at Stratford-upon-Avon, discovered in 1804, during a reparation of it, with numerous other subjects both in the nave and chancel, all of which have been published in lithography by Mr. T. Fisher, and coloured as in the originals; but from the number of copies being limited to one hundred, the work is of uncommon occurrence. The engraving of this subject is exactly copied from Mr. Fisher's print, (excepting a slight change in the situation of the demon with a prong and tail, in the upper part of the picture, and the omission of three unimportant figures;) and besides giving a representation of Hell-mouth, affords an interior view of the dominions of "Sir Sathanus," wherein the horrid and ludicrous are so conjoined as to render it difficult to determine which predominates.

A third representation of Hell-mouth, plate 7, is given from an ancient German engraving on wood, of singularly spirited design and vigorous execution. In the miscellaneous print, plate 8, which follows, is a small view of Hell-mouth from an old German print, somewhat resembling the last mentioned in its conception, and shewing specimens of the horn and prongs, before described, in the hands of the devils. The diabolical figure, No. 1, is from the fresco painting at Stratford-upon-Avon, and Nos. 2 and 3 from ancient German wood cuts.

DEADMAN.

This character only occurs in the entries of 1574 and 1576. No particular articles of dress can be assigned, nor any thing further said, except a conjecture that it represented a person delivered from hell by the descent of our Saviour.

PREFACE OR PROLOGUE.

Each of these terms occur, though more frequently the latter.

Itm̃ p'd for þ^e spekynge of þ^e prologe.....ij^d

It' paid to jorge loe for spekynge þ^e prologe .....ij^d

In 1573 4d. is paid for speaking the "preface," and the same sum in 1574 for the "prologe."

SINGERS AND MINSTRELLS.

"Singers & Singing Men," is an article of regular entry after the term "Minstrell" is discontinued. 6d. and 8d. was the accustomed fee to the Minstrell, and the following are specimens of payments to Singers:—

Itm̃ p'd to the Singyngmen ..... xvj^{d}
Itm̃ p'd to þ^{e} Singers & makyng þ^{e} songe ..... ij^{s} iiij^{d}

Some miscellaneous articles may here be noticed which fall not under any particular appropriation:—

Itm̃ p'd for vj payr of gloves ..... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm̃ a staf for a polax ..... ij^{d}
Itm̃ payd for mendynge of the bowe ..... iij^{d}
Itm̃ p'd for halfe a yard of rede sea ..... vj^{d}

In 1584, the Cappers (at a joint expence with the Sheremen and Taylors,) exhibited, in common with the other Companies, the new Pageant of the Destruction of Jerusalem. An exact copy of the entire entry follows:—

1584.—*Paymentes for our partes ffor the pagyn and acte.*

Payd ffor ffyve Reherses ..... v^{s}
Spente at the same Reherses ..... xx^{d}
Spente at Thomas Robynsons by tymes at þ^{e} appõntiug off thinges .. x^{d}
paide ffor our partes at the settinge & drivinge off the pagyn & skaffoldes .. ij^{s} vj^{d}
payd ffor dressynge the pagyn ..... vj^{d}
paide towards the hyre of a drum ..... xij^{d}
payde ffor playinge off the same drum ..... iij^{d}
payde ffor mendynge off the skaffolds ..... vij^{d}
payde ffor iij beardes ..... ij^{s} vj^{d}
paide sixe musicissions ..... ij^{s} vj^{d}
payd ffor the hyre off a trumpet ..... vj^{d}
payd ffor mendynge off the players Reparrell ..... vj^{d}
paide towardes the players breakffast and drynke in the pagyn and anyght when the had played ..... v^{s} vj^{d}
Paide more ffor ale that was droncke at the settinge in off the pagyn and skaffolds ..... iiij^{d}
payde ffor makinge in off oure pagyn dores & small cordes ..... iiij^{d}

payde ffor oure suppers and the iiij Masters off the Sharmen and tayllers and the clarkes and Sum̃ers ..... iiij^{s}

The some is xxviij^{s} ix^{d}

Paymentes to the Players.

payde to owton ..... v^{s}
payde to Thomas Symcoxe ..... v^{s}
payde to the barber ..... iij^{s} vj^{d}
payde to butler ..... iij^{s} vj^{d}
payde to hollande ..... iij^{s} vj^{d}
paide xpoffere tayller ..... ij^{s} x^{d}
payde to hawkes ..... xvj^{d}
payde to mathewe ..... ij^{s} iiij^{d}
payde to hawmon ..... xvj^{d}
payde to M^{r} myles sonne ..... xvj^{d}
payde to holbage ..... xvj^{d}
payde to Jhon Shewels man ..... viij^{d}
payde the captaynes lackies ..... xij^{d}
payde to xij souldyars to were Red cotes ..... ij^{s}
payde ffor iij garlande made off bayes ..... vj^{d}
payde ffor the temple ..... xij^{d}
payde to Jhon Grene[d] ffor makynge the booke ..... v^{s}
payde ffor the kepynge the boke ..... xij^{d}

The some is xliiij^{s} ij^{d}

The some of our parte is xxij^{s} j^{d}.

With this performance the Cappers' Company closed their exhibition of Pageants, save that in 1591, when the Destruction of Jerusalem and Hox Tuesday were for the last time represented at the Mayor's commandment, they "payd to Thomas Massey towards the playes xx^{s}" and lent their Pageant Vehicle, Dresses, and other apparatus, contracting with him for the exhibition.

In 1589 the Company had sold the lead and tile off their Pageant *House*, and in 1596 they disposed of "furrs of players gowns" for 14d. and also "R^{d} of Ric̃ dabson for byshopps hodds viij^{s}" being the last trace of the Pageant History of the Cappers' Company.

[d] He furnished Copies of the Play to the Smiths' and Mercers' Companies, on the same terms.

For the keeping of the Pageant Vehicle each Company had what was uniformly called a " Pageant House," numerous items for repairing which occur, and for " securing the doors." The one belonging to the Cappers' Company was situated in Mill-lane, where it appears there were several others: for a deed 19th Henry VII. 1503, describes the Pageant House belonging to the Shearmen and Taylors as situated there, betwixt the Pageant Houses of the Pinners' and Weavers' Companies. The Mercers' was in Gosford-street, and the Drapers' (vide note m, page 8,) in Little Park-street. It would appear from the following item, that the Pageants were occasionally exhibited for two days:—

1544.—payde for drynk in þe pageant for þ^e^ plears for bothe days . . . . viij^d^

DRAPERS' PAGEANT.

The oldest Book of Accounts of this Company now to be found, commences in 1534, and we are in consequence without any *particulars* of their Pageant antecedently to this period, which is much to be regretted, since it appears that they were in possession of one so early as the 16th of Richard II. 1392, a tenement in Little Park-street being in the Cartulary of St. Mary's described as " in^t^ teñ p'oz & Con^tus.^ ex pte una & domũ þ le pagent pannaz Coventre ex alta" and it may be remarked that this is the first instance of Pageants in Coventry that has been discovered. In 1520 the Trinity Gild sold to this Company timber " to make their Pageant" value 7s. 7d.; and in 1534 an entry occurs in their Accounts of 4s. received for the rent of " þ^e^ old *pagent* howse" the *new* one being also mentioned in the same Account. The Orders and Rules of the Company, " gathered owt off oulld & Anssyent boukes" in 1534, contain an Order that the Masters shall " se the pageond & play well broughte fforth" as " usyd in old tyme to the lawde & prays of god & þ^e^ worschypp of thys Cytte."

The subject of the Drapers' Pageant, as exhibited in 1534 and succeeding years, was " Doomsday," and the same mode of analysis adopted in describing the Smiths' and Cappers' Pageants, applied to that of the Drapers', presents many particulars tending materially to illustrate this portion of our national antiquities. Pursuing this system, the first head is the

CHARACTERS.

God
Two Demons
Three White (sometimes saved) Souls
Three Black (sometimes damned) Souls

Two Spirits — Prologue
Four Angels — Two Clarks for Singing
Three Patriarchs — One to sing the Basse
Two Worms of Conscience — Pharisee

MACHINERY, &c.

Hell-mouth—a fire kept at it — A Windlass and three fathom of Cord
Earthquake—Barrel for the same—A Pillar for the words of the Barrel, painted
Three Worlds, painted, and a piece that bears them.—The "worlds" were provided annually, and the number three seems to indicate that the performance was limited to as many representations on Corpus Christi day.
A Link to set the world on fire
Pulpits for the Angels — Cross — Rosin — A Ladder

DRESSES.

God's Coat of Leather — Suit for Angels, Gold Skins
Red Sendal for God — Wings for Angels
Demon's Head (or Vizor) — Three Cheverels and a Beard
Coats, Hose, & Points, for the Demon — Four Diadems
Coats for the White and Black Souls — Black, Red, and Yellow Buckram
Hose and Points for them — Hair 3lb. for the Demon's Coat & Hose
Hat for the Pharisee

MUSIC, &c.

Trumpets — Organ — Regalls
1566.—payd to Thomas Nycles for settyng a songe ..... xij[d]

PLAY BOOKS.

1557.—paid to Robart Crowe[e] for makyng of the boke for the paggen..xx[s]

PAGEANT VEHICLE.

1540.—Itm̃ for mendyng the bateling yn the toppe of the pagent..... viij[d]
1567.—payd for carvyng bords and crest ffor the toppe of the padgen..iij[s]

[e] This Robert Crowe, or Croo, in 1564 revised and corrected the Shearmen and Taylors' Play, now in my possession.—T. S.

The charges of performing vary from 21s. to £4. 8s. 6d. The Pageant in 1561 was driven by ten Men, who received 2s. 6d.

Payments to Performers.

1538.—Itm̃ payd to hym that playeth goddes parte ..... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm̃ payd to iiij Angeles ..... xvj^{d}
Itm̃ payd to iij Patriarches ..... xij^{d}
Itm̃ payd to iij white soules ..... xviij^{d}
Itm̃ payd to iij blakke soules ..... ij^{s}
Itm̃ payd to ij demons ..... iij^{s}
Itm̃ payd for kepyng the wynde [windlass] ..... vj^{d}
1556.—Itm̃ payd to God ..... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm̃ payd to ij demons ..... iij^{s}
Itm̃ payd to iij whyte sollys (savyd Sowles 1565) ..... v^{s}
Itm̃ payd to iij blake sollys (dampnyd Sowles 1565) ..... v^{s}
Itm̃ to ij spryttys ..... xvj^{d}
Itm̃ payd for the prolouge ..... viij^{d}
Itm̃ payd to iiij angellys ..... ij^{s}
Itm̃ payd to iij pattryarkys ..... xviij^{d}
Itm̃ payd to ij clarkys for syngyng ..... ij^{s}
Itm̃ payd to the Trompyttar ..... iij^{s} iiij^{d} (afterwards 5s.)
Itm̃ payd for playng on the reygalles[f] ..... vj^{d}
1557.—Itm̃ payde to Jhon to synge the basse ..... iiij^{d}
1566.—It' payd to the pageant players for þ^{r} songs ..... iiij^{d}
1560.—It' payd to Robert Cro for pleayng God ..... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
1561.—Itm̃ payd for playeing of the protestacyon ..... viij^{d}
Itm̃ payd to wormes of conscience ..... xvj^{d}
1562.—Itm̃ payd to ij wormes of conscyence ..... xvj^{d}
1569.—pd for alle [ale] when thei [the players] drese them ..... iiij^{d}

In particularizing the characters in this Pageant, and appropriating the various articles of dress and machinery which occur during the brief entries of little more than thirty years, so much light is thrown upon the subject, that it is impossible not to feel considerable regret at the want of the Book of Accounts

[f] The Regall was a sort of small Organ, of which there is a representation in the Nuremberg Chronicle, p. 10.

which preceded that from whence the present materials are extracted. This is not to be found in the archives of the Company, and there is too much reason to consider it as irrecoverably lost, or destroyed.

GOD.

The character of God commences the list in payments to performers, and various entries occur to describe the dress :—

1556.—payde for vij skynnes[g] for godys cote (inter alia)
1557.—paid for a peyre of gloves for god ..... ij[d]
1562.—payd for a Cote for god and for a payre of gloves ..... iij[s]
1565.—p'd for iij yards of Redde Sendall for God ..... xx[d]

DEMONS.

Two Demons were required for this Pageant, and they appear to have been dressed and fitted out somewhat in like manner as the Smiths' and Cappers' Devils, though the items from the charges in 1568 are more minute and particular, and shew that the Coats and Hose were trimmed or covered with hair.

1536.—Itm̃ for mendyng the demones heed ..... vj[d]
1540.—It' for peyntyng & makyng new ij damons heds (inter alia)
1556.—payd for a demons face ..... ij[s]
1560.—payd to Cro for mendyng the devells cottes ..... xx[d]
1568.—payd for makyng the devells hose ..... viij[d]
payd for poynts for the demon (inter alia)
payd for canvas for one of the devells hose ..... xj[d]
payd for makyng the ij devells facys ..... x[s]
payd for makyng a payre of hose w[t]. heare ..... xxij[d]
payd for iij*li.* of heare ..... ij[s] vj[d]

1572.—It' pd for ij pound of heare for the demons cotts & hose and mending

WHITE AND BLACK SOULS.

Of these characters the number was uniformly three of each, but sometimes they are denominated "savyd" and "dampnyd Sowles," instead of white and black. The entries of dresses and materials are so connected as to render it advisable to illustrate them under one head :—

[g] These were sheep-skins, converted into white leather, see p. 26, ante.

1536.—Itm̃ for mendyng the white & the blake soules cotes.....viij^{d}
1537.—Itm̃ for v elnes of Canvas for shyrts[h] & hose for the blakke soules, at v^{d} the elne .....ij^{s} j^{d}
Itm̃ for coloryng and makyng the same cots.....ix^{d}
Itm̃ for makyng & mendynge of the blakke soules hose .....vj^{d}
Itm̃ for a payre of newe hose & mendyng of olde for the whyte soules .....xviij^{d}
1543.—It' p'd ffor the mendyng of the whytt solls kotts w^{t} the ij skyns þ^{t} went to þem.....xvj^{d}
1553.—payde for a dossyne of Skyns for the sollys cottys.....iiij^{s} vj^{d}
p'd for makyng the sollys cottys .....iij^{s}
1556.—p'd for canvas for the sollys cottys xix ellys .....xiiij^{s} iij^{d}
p'd for ix elys of canvas made yellow.....xij^{d}
p'd for x elys of canvas made blacke .....x^{d}
payd for ij pessys of yallow bokeram.....vij^{s} vj^{d}
payd for iiij yards of Rede bokaram .....ij^{s} viij^{d}
payd for makyng the sollys cotts .....vj^{s} viij^{d}
p'd for blakyng the sollys fassys (inter alia)
1565.—p'd for ix yards & a halfe of bukram for the Sowles coates....vij^{s}
1566.—p'd for poynts for the souls (inter alia)
1567.—p'd for iij elnes of yelloo Canvas .....ij^{s} x^{d}
It' for collering the solles cotts yelloo .....xvj^{d}
p'd for a solles cote.....xij^{d}

It appears from the foregoing items, that the White or Saved Souls had Coats and Hose, which necessarily were *white*, and evidently were made of leather, as it will be recollected was the case with "Gods" garments.

The Black or Damned Souls had their faces blackened, and were dressed in Coats and Hose. The fabric of the Hose was buckram or canvas, of which latter material nineteen ells were used (nine of yellow and ten of black) in 1556, and probably a sort of party-coloured dress was made for them, where the yellow was so combined as to represent flames.[i]

[h] The "shyrts" were an outer dress, and in the succeeding item are called "cots," the common appellation of the outer garment worn by these characters.

[i] The resemblance of Flames might be heightened by red paint, or some of the red buckram mentioned. In Spence's Anecdotes of Books and Men, by S. W. Singer, 1820, 8vo. is a very curious description, at

The dresses worn by the wretched victims of the Inquisition, at an Auto de Fè, will naturally present themselves to the reader's imagination on this occasion; and as Religious Mysteries continued to be exhibited on the Continent long after their disuse in England, it might be conjectured that the habits worn by the "Damned Souls" in such representations (for we have no reason to imagine *these* were peculiar to our own country,) furnished the idea for a dress eminently calculated to impress the spectators with horror. In the Corpus Christi Plays, performed at York, "Jesus destroying hell, twelve good and twelve evil spirits," are the characters in the Pageant performed by the "Satellers, Sellers, and Glasiers."

TWO SPIRITS.

These personages are first introduced in the Pageant Anno 1556, in which year a large acquisition of new dresses, &c. was made to the former stock; yet it is by no means obvious whether any or which of the annexed items apply to their apparel.

1556.—payd for iij elys of lynyne cloth for the playars gownys.....iij^{s} viij^{d}
payd for makyng of iij gownys & a cotte .....vj^{s}

The probability is in favour of the linen cloth gowns being made for these Spirits; but all is conjecture here.

FOUR ANGELS.

1538.—Itm̃ for makyng an Angells scytte [suit?] .....xij^{d}
1540.—Itm̃ for peyntyng & makyng new iiij peire of angells wyngs (inter alia)
1556.—payd for iiij pere of angyllys wyngys .....ij^{s} viij^{d}
payd for iiij dyadymes .....ij^{s} vij^{d}
payd for vj goldyn skynnes.....v^{s}
1565.—payd for iiij yards of boorde to make pulpytts for the angells..viij^{d}
payd for a pece of wode to make feete for them.....iiij^{d}
payd to the carpenters for makyng ij pulpytts &c .....iiij^{s}

There can be little doubt of the four Diadems being correctly appropriated to the Angels, and no other personages seem to have so strong a claim to the

p. 397, of the representation of a Mystery at Turin, in 1739, called the *Damned Soul*, wherein the female personating this character was dressed ("for what reason," says the author, "I do not know,") "in a gown of *flame-coloured* satin." The whole account is deserving of the reader's attention.

six Golden skins: they were certainly not used for any part of God's dress; and in the original entry this item immediately follows that of the four Diadems.

THREE PATRIARCHS.

The only item which seems to appertain to these characters is—

1556.—payd for iij chefferellys & a berde of here.....iij^{s} x^{d}

TWO WORMS OF CONSCIENCE.

These were first introduced in 1561, and there is no entry of dress or apparatus that can be applied to them.

PROLOGUE.

This was amongst the additions made in 1556. In 1561 occurs, for the first and only time, the following item, which was most likely another term for the "prologue," the payment being the same:—

Itm̃ payd for playeing of the protestacyon [k].....viij^{d}

PHARISEE.

1562.—Itm̃ payde Robert Croo for a hat for the pharysye .....xij^{d}

In the payments to performers no such character appears; and besides the above, there is only one other notice of it.

The Machinery belonging to this Pageant is particularly deserving of attention. It has been already remarked, that a Windlass was a customary and necessary appendage to the Pageant vehicles, and that it was placed in the lower room or floor. The items following relate to the Drapers'

WINDLASS.

1538.- -Itm̃ for mendyng a Rope to the pagent thre ffedom longe....v^{d}

1543.- payd for a new roppe for the wynd .....xviij^{d}

1556.—payd for dryvyng of the pagand kepyng [attending, or watching] þ^{e} wynde .....iiij^{s}

[k] This might probably (as well as the Prologue, for both were introduced subsequently to the Reformation,) be spoken for the purpose of *protesting* against any Papistical notions, notwithstanding they played the Pageant as it had been accustomed.—See "The Banes" or Prologue to the Chester Plays.

1568.—payd for a cord for the wynde ....ij^{s} vj^{d}
payd for mendyng the wynde .....ij^{d}

HELL MOUTH.

The items relating to this portion of the Drapers' Pageant having been already given, p. 61, are not repeated here; but the following entry, since discovered, is too remarkable to be omitted:—

1557.—Itm̃ payd for kepyng of fyer at hell mothe ....iiij^{d}

From the above charge we learn, that to heighten the effect of this terrific representation, fire was displayed within hell-mouth; a fact that might be reasonably conjectured, but of which no other proof has been discovered in the accounts of the Coventry Pageants.

EARTHQUAKE.

1556.—payd for the baryll for the yerthequake .....(inter alia)
payd for the pyllar for þ^{e} wordys of the baryll .....iij^{s} iiij^{d}
payd for payntyng the pyllur.....(inter alia)
1557.—payd for kepyng [attending] the baryll..... .....(inter alia)
Itm̃ payd for tyntyng [attending or watching] the yerthequake..iiij^{d}
1565.—payd for keveryng [covering] the Erthequake to porter .....ij^{s}

The representation of an Earthquake[l] was first introduced in 1556; but though all the items are given, it is not very clear in what manner the apparatus, was used, to produce the desired effect.

THREE WORLDS.

1556.—payd to Crowe for makyng of iij worldys.....ij^{s}
[In 1560 the sum paid to him for the worlds was 3s. 8d.]
payd him more for [the] same[m].....iij^{s} viij^{d}

[l] "On the evening of Good Friday," says Southey, in his Letters from Spain and Portugal, "I went to the new convent, to witness the rending of the veil of the Temple, and hear a Portuguese sermon. The *earthquake* was represented by a noise like scuffling of feet.—Vol. ii. p. 181.

It has been suggested to the writer, that the uncommon term, "*wordys*" in the second item, probably means "gudgeons," which being supported (at one end) by this pillar, would allow the barrel to be turned round, and if partially filled with stones, a loud rumbling noise would be produced. But the charge of 3s. 4d. seems to be too great for so simple an article; and a conjecture that some sort of mechanism within the barrel, calculated to produce the same effect, is intended, appears to be quite as probable

[m] This is an annual charge, as the "worldys" were burnt in the performance of the Pageant.

1558.—payd for iij worldys .....iij^{s} viij^{d}
payd for payntyng of the worldys .....(inter alia)
payd for settyng the world of fyer..v^{d} payd for kepyng fyre (inter alia)

CROSS.

1537.—Itm̃ for makyng of the Crosse & coloryng yt .....ij^{d}

LADDER.

1557.—payd for a larthar .....iiij^{d}
1566.—payde for fetchyng and kepyng the ladder .....ij^{d}

MUSIC.

1538.—Itm̃ payd for mendyng the Trumpetts .....vij^{d}
1557.—It' to the trũppeter .....iij^{s} iiij^{d}
payd for fechyng a pere of horgens & the carrege of them whoume..... ij^{s}
1558.—p'd for beryng of the orgens .....vj^{d}
1556.—Itm̃ payd for playng on the reygalles .....vj^{d}
1565.—Itm̃ payd to James huyt for the Rygalls.....xij^{d}

After the usual entry of particulars of the Pageant charges for 1572, occurs the following :—

The chargys of iiij new gownes and iiij Surplesses.
payd to Wyllm̃ Walden for stufe .....xliiij^{s} j^{d}
payd to John Grene for canvas .....lj^{s} iiij^{d}
payd to John Gosnell for furryng the gowns .....xx^{s}
payd for makyng the gownes .....x^{s}
payd for makyng the surplesses .....xvj^{d}
payd for wryttyng the booke .....x^{s}
Smã....vj^{li} xvj^{s} ix^{d}.

The above articles of apparel could not at this time be wanted, either for the Corpus Christi procession or the Company's Priests; and as the livery or gown of the Company was always provided by the individual members of the Society, and at their own charge, no appropriation of these gowns and surplices appears so probable as the Pageant or Plays of the Company; and this conjecture receives additional strength from the charge "for wryttyng the booke x^{s}" forming

a part of the entry. Whether these dresses and the play-book relate to a *supplementary Pageant* (which was no unusual circumstance, as has already been shewn in the account of the Smiths' and Cappers' Pageants,) or whether they were dresses and matter for a *Play* performed before the Company at their dinner, there is no evidence to determine; but upon reference to what is said upon the latter subject in a subsequent portion of the work, perhaps the reader will be inclined to prefer that appropriation.

The remaining history of the Drapers' Pageant is very similar to that of the Smiths and Cappers. After discontinuing to exhibit in 1580, 1581, 1582, and 1583, they brought out in 1584, at a charge of £6. 4s. 9d. the new Play of The Destruction of Jerusalem (but there is no enumeration of particulars in their Accounts, only a general entry) A pause ensued until 1591, when they performed in compliance with the "Mayor's Commandment," and the following entry occurs:

1591.—payd to Thomas Massye for the pagent.....xl^{s}

payd for Corde & horssyng the pagen.....vj^{d}

In the Account for 1595 appears:—

"Rec$^{d.}$ for the hyer of o$^{r.}$ players clokes w$^{t.}$ other such stufe..iiij^{s}"

being the last entry that has been noticed respecting the Pageant.

By the items in 1591, it appears the Company contracted with Massye to furnish performers and play their Pageant, for a certain sum. Massye seems to have been a general contractor for managing the Pageants that year: both the Cappers and Mercers, as well as Drapers, agreed with him; and it will be seen, by referring to the Accounts of 1584, that he furnished the "Temple & Beards" to the Smiths' Company, and probably did the like as to the "Temple" for the Cappers. He certainly was paid 16d. for services towards the Mercers' Pageant in 1584.

This Thomas Massie, in a Petition to the Mayor and his brethren, states himself to be "a branche of the Baronry and Knighthood of Masseyes Dunham in Cheshire" and complains of being imprisoned fifteen days in 1603, "for speaking the truthe". He also says that he commenced a suit against those who caused his imprisonment, and was by Judge Warburton awarded £6. 13s. 4d. who two or three years afterwards wrote to the Mayor, desiring Massie might have a competent allowance towards his charges respecting "the shewe for the hono$^{r.}$ of the kings Ma$^{tie.}$" amounting to £22.

Massie enumerates many grievances, and amongst the rest, complains that Mr. Page, Mayor in 1603, did threaten to clap him by the heels if he shewed any thing for the honour of the King's Majesty, and both buffeted him with his clenched fists and spat in his face, for telling him he heard say the Lady Elizabeth's Grace was desirous to see Coventry; and concludes by asking to have certain bonds for money given up to him, and the matter to be ended.

By another document, recording the demeanour of this Massie towards the Mayor and others, it appears that in March, 1602, he intimated to the Mayor and Council his intention "to make a Shew uppon the Kings Daie,[n] and to that purpose craved allowance" but was answered "that such toyes (as he would sett abroch) deserved noe Contribucon: but seconding his request, and makeing offerr to perform ytt uppon his own charges (so that there might be onely approbacon of the House) his Project and Speaches were referred to the view of two Preachers; who mislyking many things both in Subject and forme, there was an order prescribed for this proceeding, and he confined in his Shews. After wch. tyme of limitacon we heard nothing of his determinacon to goe forwards untill there was notice given by the sayd Massie that he had beene wth. Lord Harrington to make his Lo. acquainted wth. his Devises & by his Lo. mediacon to entreat the Lady Elizabeth her grace,[o] together wth. her Traine to come to Coventry to see them wth in two daies after. W^ch. sudden and unexpected report of the presence of so great personages could not but yeeld great discontent to the said Mair and his brethren, then unprovided to give such entertainment as was fitting such estate. Whereuppon the said Maior and his brethren sent to the Lord Harrington to know if there were anie such resolution, and received answere that there was noe such intencon his Lo. not having so much as heard of any such matter, nor had any Conference wth. Massie at all. So that uppon Massie his untrue report a Command was given him, that he should not make any further progresse till he heard from them; after wch. tyme he came noe more to them. But afterwards abusing the Preachers for Censuring his Devises, and being uppon their just complaint Convented before the Maior and his brethren for the same, he returned answere that yf it were for any such matter wch. concern did the Preachers, he would not come, but rather have it heard where he might have justice." On being

[n] 25th of July, St. James's day, when the King was crowned.

[o] On the 13th of April, 1604, the Princess Elizabeth came from Combe Abbey to Coventry, attended by Lord and Lady Harrington, and many persons of distinction, where she was received with great respect, and presented with a cup of silver, gilt.

sent for a second time, however, he came and behaved insolently, calling one of the party "a Milners Sonn", and declaring that "his Petigree came out of the Tole-dish", adding, there was "noe more comparison between them, then between a Custard and a Dunghill", and upon refusing to give security for his good behaviour, he was committed to prison.

In 1565, August 17, Queen Elizabeth visited Coventry in her progress that summer; on which occasion the Drapers' Pageant stood at the cross; and it appears from their Accounts, that the pulpits for the angels, and other special preparations, were made for that exhibition.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

1538.—p'd to hym that drove the pagent .....ij^{d}
1557.—payd to the plears when the fyrste paggen was pleyd to drynke ..ij^{s}
1569.—payd for alle at the Swanne dore .....ij^{s}
1538.—It' for pakke thrydde and sope .....ij^{d} ob.
1556.—payd for nayllys, Ressys & Rosyn .....vj^{d}

MERCERS' PAGEANT.

Very little information concerning the Mercers' Pageant is to be derived from the oldest Account Book of that Company now remaining, as it commences in 1579, the last year of the Pageants being regularly performed in Coventry; but the following extract from the Trinity Gild Accounts for 1473, 13th Edward IV. proves that they had then a Pageant-House, and of course a Pageant:—

R'Joh'e Thrumpton & Thoma Colyns custodibꝫ de m̃cers p̱ reddit̃
de pagent house ....lij^{s} vj^{d}

and a like payment occurs so late as 1516. The entry of expences for 1579, is unfortunately general, so that we are unacquainted with the subject it exhibited.

1525.—The Mercers' Pageant, gallantly trimmed, stood in the Cross Cheaping this year, when the Lady Mary came to Coventry. *MS. Annals.*

Charges of the pagante

1579.—Paide ffor olde ordinarye charges aboute the pagante ffor plaieres wages and all other thinges the some of iij^{li} vij^{s} viij^{d}

In 1584 they exhibited the new Pageant of the Destruction of Jerusalem, at an expence of £8. 9s. 6d., to which the Girdlers contributed 52s. 2d. A selection from the entry follows:

Charges of the Pagante and the playe

P'd ffor hieringe Apparell ffor the playeres & ffor carrig .....xxxiij^{s}
P'd ffor makinge ij Greene cloks .....x^{s} ij^{d}
P'd Green ffor the playe booke .....v^{s}
p'd ffor mendynge the skaffolde .....iiij^{s} iiij^{d}
p'd Digbyn ffor Dromminge .....vij^{s}
p'd iij Boyes that plaied.....xvj^{d}
p'd ffor mussike..v^{s} iiij^{d} p'd the Trumppeter..iij^{s} iiij^{d}....viij^{s} viij^{d}
p'd the painter .....iij^{s}
p'd 12 Souldiours..iiij^{s} iiij^{d} p'd a Standard bearer..xij^{d}.....v^{s} iiij^{d}
p'd ffor drivinge the pagante & skaffolds.....v^{s} iiij^{d}
p'd ffor settinge up the pagant .....viij^{d}

One performer received 6s. 8d. Others 5s. 4s. and 3s. each.

In 1588, the Company sold "pagant stufe" to the amount of 59s. 8d.; but the only article specified is "a copper chayne" which produced 2s. 4d. In 1591 is the following entry:—

P'd Thomas Masseye towards plainge the pagants.....xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

As they sold their "pagant stufe" in 1588, it may be suspected, particularly from the term "towards plainge" being used, that this 33s. 4d. was contributed in aid of a Pageant exhibited by some other Company; and we have before noticed that Massey was a sort of Pageant contractor.

PINNERS' AND NEEDLERS' PAGEANT.

The Rules and Orders of the Company of "Pynners & Nedelers", agreed upon 2nd of Henry V. 1414, before Laurence Cook, then Mayor of Coventry, and others, "ev̄more for to stonden and to lasten," recite, inter alia, that the said Craft are to bear the charges and reparations of "her pagent callyd the takyng down of god fro þ^{e} cros for ev̄more amongs hem" and to eschew faults and mischiefs of false men of the same Craft, they agree that they shall be clothed in one livery against Corpus Christi day, from year to year, and ride on that day with the Mayor and Bailiffs, "all in asute in worshep of the Citee" on pain of 2s. each, and every member of the Company who intends having a livery against

Corpus Christi feast, to bring 40d. to the Master on the 25th of March, and the remainder when he fetches his livery, and if he has an hood, then to bring 6d. more on the 25th of March, and the remainder when he takes his livery.

Original in the Corporation Treasury.

1435.—At the Leet this year the Carpenters [p] are ordered to associate with the *Tilers* [q] and Pinners in support of their Pageant. Vide p. 9, ante.

1452.—Rich. Wood Mayor

Also yt ys ordeynyd bye a general Counsel of all the Crafte & Craftes that the Wryghtes Crafte of Coventre schall paye to the Pageant x^{s} upon Whytsonday or else by Corpus x$\bar{p}$i daye uppon the payne of xx^{s} halfe to the Mey$^{or.}$ & halfe to the Crafte & they to have no more to doo wythe the Pageant but payeng there x^{s}.

Extracts from the Tilers' Book of Rules & Orders, Harl. MSS. 6466, *copied by H. Wanley from the original kept at St. Nicholas Hall, Coventry.*

1495.—Ordered at the Leet on a petition from the "Wrights Tylers and Pynners" that certain persons named in the petition shall contribute towards their Pageant, as other Wrights do.

1501.—R'd Jackson Mayor

The Craft of "Cottyers & ffletchers" of Coventry agree among themselves that every stranger made a Brother of their Craft shall pay 6s. 8d. towards the cost and reparation of the "pynners, Tylers & Cowpers pageant."

1504.—Agreed that The Comp$^{y.}$ of Cottyers & ffletchers shall on the 12th day after Corpus x$\bar{p}$i yearly pay 3s. 4d. towards the pynners and Tylers pageant, and the Tile makers of Stoke 5s. yearly on Corpus x$\bar{p}$i day: also that all new Brothers of that Company pay 6s. 8d. to their pageant.

Extracts from the Tilers' Book, ut supra.

1547.—Ordered at the Leet, that the Coopers be associate with the Tylers and Pynners "and to be head and chiefest of them," and stand charged with the Pageant.

[p] 1448.—It' sol' ad le pynnerus p' le pagent .....x^{s}

1461.—payd to pynners & tylers for the page't .....x^{s} *Carpenters' Accounts.*

In 1494 the Company of Carpenters presented a petition at the Great Leet, praying that certain persons should be compelled to join their Company, as "they ar charged with a *Pagiant, kepyng wacches,* with other charg's which be full chargeable to theym."

[q] The Tilers were now associated with the Pinners.

TANNERS' PAGEANT.

1498.—The Barkers (or Tanners) Pageant stood at Cross cheaping when Prince Arthur came to Coventry. *Leet Book.*

1506.—Ordered that the Corvysers Company do contribute 13s. 4d. to the Tanners' Pageant at Corpus xp̄i. *Idem.*

1517.—Wm. Pisford of Coventry, by Will dated this Year, gives to the Tanners Company his Scarlet Gown and his Crimson Gown to make use of at the time of their plays. Also to the Craft of Tanners and to every other Craft finding priest or Pageant, to the augmentation of the service of God and upholding of the laudable Custom of the City 3s. 4d. each.

1565.—The Tanners Pageant stood at St John's Church on the coming of Queen Elizabeth to Coventry this Yeare. *MS. Annals.*

These are all the memorials of the Tanners' Pageant which have been discovered. The Account Books and other documents belonging to the Company are *destroyed,* and the Society is extinct.

WEAVERS' PAGEANT.

In 1533 the Walkers were, by an Act of Leet, ordered to pay 6s. 8d. and the Skinners 5s. annually towards the Weavers' Pageant: yet in 1529 the Cappers, by Act of Leet, became possessed of it, receiving 6s. 8d. annually from the Weavers, who were then discharged of the same. It seems probable that this Pageant again reverted to the Weavers on the Cappers uniting, in 1531, with the Cardmakers & Sadlers, in the occupation and support of their Pageant and Chapel.

1565.—The Weavers' Pageant stood in Much Park-street when Queen Elizabeth visited the City in August. *MS. Annals.*

GIRDLERS' PAGEANT.

1495.—The Craft of Cappers [r] and Fullers agree to pay 13s. 4d. annually, towards the charge of the Girdlers' Priest and Pageant. *Leet Book.*

[r] The Cappers were discharged from their share of this payment in 1530, on taking possession of the Cardmakers' Pageant, having regularly paid 6s. 8d. per annum until that time.

1532.—Ordered at the Leet, that the Painters pay 4s. yearly to this Pageant. *Leet Book.*

1533.—The Barbers were ordered to pay 6s. 8d. annually to the Girdlers' Procession and Pageant, instead of the Card makers. *Idem.*

WHITTAWERS' PAGEANT.

1494.—The Fellowship of Butchers,[s] calling to mind the old acquaintance and amity that has long continued, by means of buying and selling, between them and the Whittawers, agree to pay 16s. 8d. annually towards the charges of their Pageant. *Leet Book.*

In 1548 the Cappers "Reseved of þ^e^ crafte of þ^e^ whyttawers for þ^e^ hyer of o^r^ pageand iij^s^ iiij^d^" and also exhibited their own Pageant that year. *Cappers' Acc.*

PAINTERS' PAGEANT.

1526.—It was enacted at the Leet, that all Carvers shall be associated with the Painters, and pay 12d. each person towards the Painters' Pageant.

No other notice of this Pageant has occurred.

CARDMAKERS' PAGEANT.

1434.—" The orden that þ^e^ Sadelers and þ^e^ peyntours off the City off Coventre be ffro this tyme fforward contrebetory unto þ^e^ paiont off the Cardemakers and that þey paye as the Cardemakers don yerly uppon þ^e^ payne of C^s.^ to be payed to þ^e^ use off þ^e^ Chamburlens. *Leet Book.*

1443.—" fforashmoche as the Crafte of Cardemakers Sadelers Masons & peyntors of this Cite be long tyme past have byn as oone fellauship in beryng Costys charges and all oþ^r^ dueties of old tyme to ther pagen & to the said felaushiþ longyng",—

The entry proceeds to state, that a disagreement had lately arisen amongst them, which was likely to break up the fellowship; but that the Mayor calling

[s] 1562.—paid to the Whittawers towards theyr pagand .....xiij^s^ iiij^d^—*Butchers' Accounts.*

This payment was regularly made, with the exceptions of the years 1566, 1580, 1581, 1582, and 1583, until 1584, when they paid 20s.; and the following is their last contribution:—

1591.—It' pd at m^r^ mayo^r^ Comaundement towards the pageants .....xxij^s^ iiij^d^

the members before him and his Council, and they agreeing to abide by the rule and orders of the said Mayor and Council, certain Ordinances were made, and amongst others that " ev'y pson of the said Craftys shall pay all dueties customes and laufull charges þ^t long to þ^e pagent to the wurship of this Cite". " Allso þ^t þ^r shall no man of the said iiij Craftes play no pagent on corpus xp̄i day, save onely in the pagent of his own Crafte w^tout he have lycenc of the maio^t þ^t shalbe for the yer".—*Leet Book.*

1495.—On petition of the Cardmakers, the Company of Skinners and Barkers are ordered to contribute 13s. 4d. annually towards their Pageant.

In 1531 (vide p. 43,) on account of the inability of the Cardmakers to defray the charges of their Pageant, the Cappers were associated with them; and in 1537, it was by Act of Leet (vide p. 45,) wholly transferred to that Company, whose name it afterwards bore.

SHEARMEN AND TAYLORS' PAGEANT.

The Gild or Company of Shearmen and Taylors, founded in honour of the Nativity,) took for the subject of their Pageant, the Birth of Christ and Offering of the Magi, with the Flight into Egypt and Murder of the Innocents. The ancient Account Books of this Company are lost or destroyed; but fortunately the *Play Book* has been preserved, and is now in the author's possession. The whole of this curious and authentic specimen of the far-famed Pageants of Coventry, is carefully given in the following article; and deeply does the writer regret the want of the items and charges of representation, for its clearer elucidation.

In 1503 a notice occurs of their Pageant House being in Mill-lane; and in 1579 the Smiths' Company hired a Gown of the Shearmen and Taylors, for the use of their Pageant.

THE

PAGEANT

OF

THE COMPANY OF SHEARMEN AND TAYLORS,

IN COVENTRY.*

ISAYE.

HE sofferent thatt seithe evé seycrette
He saue you all and make you pfett & stronge
And geven^{9} g̃^{a}ce w^{t} his marcé forto mete
For now in grett meseré mankynd ys bownd
The sarpent hathe gevin vs soo mortall a wonde
That no creature ys abull vs forto reyles
Tyll thye right vncion of Jvda dothe seyse
Then schall moche myrthe and joie in cresse
And the right rote in Isaraell sprynge
Thatt schall bryng forthe the greyne off whollénes
And owt of danger he schall vs bryng
In to thatt reygeon where he ys kyng
Wyche abowe all othur far dothe a bownde
And thatt cruell sathan he schall confownde

* Although the Transcriber of this Pageant in 1534, complacently announces that it is "newly correcte", we must nevertheless regret the absence of the older copies; for the orthography of "Robart Croo" is so illiterate and confused, as not to exhibit the language of his times in a fair and appropriate dress. Some explanatory readings are therefore subjoined, and also a few glossarial and illustrative notes, to aid the general reader: but in such disjointed words as *be to cuns*, and *to ge dur*, and in such disguised phrases as *ar the gon*, and *ase eyu' the cowde*, the ear alone will be a sufficient interpreter; though, to mark the true pronunciation of equivocal words, it has been thought proper to accentuate them.

Where fore I cũ here apon this grownde
To comforde eỹue creature off birthe
For I isaye the ꝑfet, hathe fownde
Many swete matt̃s whereof we ma make myrth
On this same wyse
For thogh that adam be demid to deythe
Wt all his childur asse abell & seythe
Yett Ecce vgo consepeét
Loo where a reymedé schall ryse
Be holde a mayde schall conseyve a childe
And gett vs more g̃ce then eyu̓ men had
And hir meydin od nothing defylid
Sche ys deputyd to beare the sun almyghté god
Loo sufferñtis now ma you be glad
For of this meydin all we ma be fayne
For adam ꝑt now lyis in sorrois full sade
Hir gloreose birth schall reydeme hym ageyn
From bondage and thrall
Now be myrré eyu̓e moñ
For this dede bryffly in isaraell schalbe done
And before the fathur in trone
Thatt schall glade vs all
More of this matt̃ fayne wolde I meve
But lengur tyme I haue not here for to dwell
That lorde ꝑt ys m̃cefull his m̃ce soo in vs ma p̃ve
For to sawe owre sollis from the darknes of hell,
And to his blys he vs bryng asse he ys bothe lord & kyng
And schalbe eyu̓ lastyng in secula seculoꝝ amen

Fol. 1 b

GABEREEL Hayle maré full of g̃ce owre lord god ys wt thé
Aboue all wemeñ ꝑt eyu̓ wasse
Ladé blesside mote thow be.

MARE All myght fathur & kyng of blys
From all dysses ꝑu saue me now
For inwardely my spretis trubbuld ys

Thatt I am amacid & kno nott how

GABERELL Dred thé nothyng meydin of this
From heyvin a bowe hyddur am I sent
Of ambassage from that kyng of blys,
Unto thé ladé & ꝟgin reyu̓ent
Salutyng thé here asse most exselent
Whose ꝟtu aboue all othur dothe abownde
Wherefore in thé g̃ᵃce schalbe fownde
For thow schalt conseyve apon þˢ grownd
The second ꝑsone of god in trone
He wylbe borne of thé alone wᵗ owt sin þᵘ schalt hy' see
Thy g̃ᵃce & thi goodnes wyl neyu̓ be gone
But eyu̓ to lyve in ꝟgeneté

MARE I marvell soore how thatt mabé
Manᵒ cũpany knev I neyu̓ yett
Nor neyu̓ to do kast I me
Whyle thatt owre lord sendith me my wytt

GABERELL The whollé gost in thé schall lyght
And schado thy soll soo wᵗ ꝟtu
From the fathur thatt ys on hyght
These wordis turtill thé be full tru
This chylde that of thé schalbe borne
Ys the second ꝑsone in treneté
He schall saue that wase forlorne
And the fyndis powar dystroie schall he
These wordis ladé full tru thé bene
& furthur ladé here in thy noone lenage
Be holde Eylesabeth thy cosyn clene
The wyche wasse barren & past all age
And now wᵗ chyld sche hath bene
Syx monethis and more asse schalbe sene
Where for discomforde þᵉ not maré
For to god onpossibull nothyng ꝑmabé

MARE Now and yt be thatt lordis wyll
Of my boddé to be borne & forto be
Hys hy pleysuris forto full fyll
Asse his one hande mayde I submyt me

GABERELL Now blessid be þ^e tyme sett
That þ^u wast borne in thy degre
For now ys the knott surely knytt
And god conseyvide in treneté
Now fare well ladé off myghtis most
Vnto the god hed I thé be teyche

MARE Thatt lorde thé gyde in eyu?e cost
And looly he leyde me & be my leyche

Fol. 2 b

Here the angell deptyth & Joseff cũyth in & seyth

JOSOFF Maré my wyff soo dere
How doo ye dame and whatt chere
Ys w^t you this tyde

MARE Truly husebonde I am here
Owre lordis wyll forto abyde

JOSOFF Whatt I troo thatt we be all schent
Sey womoñ who hath byn here sith I went
To rage wyth thee

MARE Syr here wase nothur mañ nor mans eyvin
But only the sond of owre lorde god in heyvin

JOSOFF Sey not soo womoñ for schame ley be
Ye be w^t chyld soo wondurs grett
Ye nede no more þ^rof to tret
Agense all right
For sothe this chylde dame ys not myne
Alas that eyu? w^t my nynee
I suld see þ^s syght

Tell me womoñ whose ys this chyld

MARE Non but youris husebond soo myld
And thatt schalbe seyne

JOSOFF But myne allas alas why sey ye soo
Wele awey womon now may I goo
Be gyld as many a nothur ys

MARE Na truly sir ye be not be gylde
Nor yet w^{t} spott of syn I am not defylde
Trust yt well huse bonde

JOSOFF Huse bond in feythe & þ^{t} acold
A weylle awey Josoff as thow ar olde
Lyke a fole now ma I stand & truse
But in feyth maré þ^{u} art in syn
Soo moche ase I haue cheyrischyd þé dame & all þ^{i} kyn
Be hynd my bake to s?ve me thus
All olde men insampull take be me
How I am be gylid here may you see
To wed soo yong a chyld
Now fare well maré I leyve thé here alone
Worthé the dam and thy warkis ycheone
For I woll noo more be gylid be for frynd nor fooe
Now of this ded I am soo dull
And off my lyff I am soo full no farthur ma I goo

ANGELL j Aryse up Josoff & goo whom ageyne
Vnto maré thy wyff that ys soo fre
To comford hir loke þ^{t} thow be fayne
For Josoff a cleyne meydin ys schee
Sche hath conseyvid w^{t} owt any trayne
The seycond þson in treneté
Jhu schalbe hys name sarten

And all thys world sawe schall he be not agast

JOSOFF Now lorde I thanke thé w^t hart full sad
For of these tythyngis I am soo glad
Thatt all my care awey ys cast
Wherefore to maré I woll in hast
A maré maré I knele full loo
Forgeve me swete wyff here in þ^s lond
Marcé maré for now I kno
Of youre good gou?nance and how yt doth stond
Thoght thatt I dyd thé mys name
Marcé maré whyle I leve
Wyll I neyu? swet wyff thé greve in ernyst nor in game

MARE Now thatt lord in heyvin sir he you forgyve
And I do for geve yow in hys name for eu?more

JOSOFF Now truly swete wyff to you I sey the same
But now to bedlem must I wynde
And scho my self soo full of care
And I to leyve you this grett behynd
God wott the whyle dame how you schuld fare

Fol. 3 b

MARE Na hardely husebond dred ye nothyng
For I woll walke w^t you on the wey
I trust in god all myghté kyng
To spede right well in owre jurney

JOSOFF Now I thanke you maré of youre goodnes
Thatt ye my wordis woll nott blame
And syth þ^t to bedlem we schall vs dresse
Goo we to gedur in goddis whollé name
Now to bedlem haue we leygis three
The day ys ny spent yt drawyth toward nyght
Fayne at your es dame I wold þ^t ye schulde be
For you groue all werély yt semyth in my syght

MARE God haue marcy Josoffe my spowse soo dere
All ꝑfettis herto dothe beyre wyttnes
The weré tyme now draith nere
Thatt my chyld wolbe borne wyche ys kyng of blis
Vnto sũ place Josoff hyndly me leyde
Thatt I moght rest me wᵗ g̃ᵃce in ꝑᵃ tyde
The lyght of the fathur ou? hus both spreyde
And the g̃ᵃce of my sun wᵗ vs here a byde

JOSOFF Loo blessid maré here schall ye lend
Cheff chosyn of owre lorde & cleynist in degre
And I for help to towne woll I wende
Ys nott this the best dame whatt sey ye

MARE God haue marcé Josoff my huse bond soo meke
& hartely I pᵃ you goo now fro me

JOSOFF Thatt schalbe done in hast maré soo swete
The comford of the whollé gost leyve I wᵗ thé
Now to bedlem streyght woll I wynd
To gett som helpe for maré soo free
Sũ helpe of weᷤmen god ma me send
Thatt maré full off g̃ᵃce pleysid ma be

PASTOR j. Now god that art in treneté Fol. 4
Thow sawe my fellois and me
For I kno nott wheyre my scheepe nor thé be
Thys nyght yt ys soo colde
Now ys yt nygh the myddis of the nyght
These wedurs ar darke and dym of lyght
Thatt of them can hy haue noo syght
Standyng here on this wold
But now to make there hartis lyght
Now wyll I full right stand apon this looe
And to them cry wᵗ all my myght
Full well my voise thé kno
Wᵗ hoo fellois hoo hooe hoo

PASTOR ij

Hark sym harke I here owre brothur on the looe
This ys hys woise right well I knoo
There fore toward hym lett vs goo
And follo his woise a right
See sym se where he doth stond
I am ryght glad we haue hym fond
Brothur where hast thow byn soo long
And this nyght hit ys soo cold

PASTOR j

E fryndis þr cam a pyrie of wynd wt a myst suddeñly
Thatt forth off my weyis went I
And grett heyvenes in made I
& wase full sore afrayde
Then forto goo wyst I nott whyddur
But trawellid on this loo hyddur & thyddur
I wasse so weré of this cold weddur
Thatt nere past wasse my might

PASTOR iij

Brethur now we be past þt fryght
Fol. 4 b
And hit ys far wt in the nyght
Full sone woll spryng the day lyght
Hit drawith full nere the tyde
Here awhyle lett vs rest
And repast owreself of the best
Tyll thatt the sun ryse in the est
Let vs all here abyde

There the scheppdis drawys furth there meyte & doth eyte & drynk and asse thé drynk thé fynd the star & sey thus

PASTOR iij

Brethur loke vp and behold
Whatt thyng ys yondur thatt schynith soo brygh
Asse long ase eyu? I haue wachid my fold
Yett sawe I neyu? soche a syght in fyld
A ha now ys cũ the tyme þt old fathurs hath told
Thatt in the wynturs nyght soo cold
A chyld of meydyñ borne be he wold
In whom all þfeciys schalbe fullfyld

PASTOR j Truth yt ys w^{t} owt naye
Soo seyd the ꝑfett Isaye
Thatt I chylde schuld be borne of a made soo bryght
In wentur ny the schortist dey
Or elis in the myddis of the nyght

PASTOR ij Loovid be god most off myght
That owre g̃^{a}ce ys to see thatt syght
Pray we to hym ase hit ys right
Yff thatt his wyll yt be
Thatt we ma haue knoleyge of this syngnefocacion
And why hit aperith on this fassion
And eyu? to hym lett vs geve lawdacion
In yerthe whyle thatt we be

Pol. 5

There the angelis syng glorea in exselsis deo

PASTOR iij Harke thé syng abowe in the clowdis clere
Hard I neyuer of soo myrré a quere
Now gentyll brethur draw we nere
To here thére armony

PASTOR j Brothur myrth and solas ys cũ hus among
For be the swettnes of y^{r} songe
Goddis sun ys cũ whom we haue lokid for long
Asse syngnefyith thys star ꝑ^{t} we do see

PASTOR ij Gloré glorea in exselsis ꝑ^{t} wase ꝑ^{r} songe
How sey ye fellois seyd thé not thus

PASTOR j Thatt ys welseyd now goo we hence
To worschipe thatt chyld of hy manyffecence
And that we ma syng in his ꝑsence
Et in tarra pax omynibus

There the scheppdis syngis ASE I OWT RODDE* & Josoff seyth

JOSOFF Now lorde this noise þ^{t} I do here
W^{t} this grett solemneté
Gretly amendid hath my chere
I trust hy nevis schortly wolbé

There the angellis syng gloria in exsellsis ageyne

MARE A Josoff husebond cũ heddur anon
My chylde ys borne þ^{t} ys kyng of blys

JOSOFFE Now welcũ to me the makar of mon
W^{t} all the omage thatt I con
Thy swete mothe here woll I kys

MARE A Josoff husebond my chyld waxith cold
And we haue noo fyre to warme hym w^{t}

JOSOFF Now in my narmys I schall hym fold
Kyng of all kyngis be fyld & be fryth
He myght haue had bettur & hym selfe wold Fol. 5 b
Then the breythyng of these bestis to warme hy' w^{t}

MARE Now Josoff my husbond fet heddur my chyld
The maker off man and hy kyng of blys

JOSOFF That schalbe done anon maré soo myld
For the brethyng of these bestis hath warmyd well I wys

ANGELL j Hyrd meñ hynd drede ye nothyng
Off thys star thatt ye do se
For thys same morne godis sun ys borne
In bedlem of a meydin fre

* See this Song at the end of the Play.

ANGELL ij Hy you thyddur in hast
Yt ys hys wyll ye schall hym see
Lyinge in a crybbe of pore reypaste
Yett of davithis lyne cũoñ ys hee

PASTOR j Hayle mayde modur & wyff soo myld
Asse the angell seyd soo haue we fonde
I haue nothyng to present w^{t} þ^{i} chylde
But my pype hold hold take yt in thy hond
Where in moche pleysure þ^{t} I haue fond
And now to oonowre thy gloreose byrthe
Thow schallt yt haue to make thé myrthe

PASTOR ij Now hayle be thow chyld & thy dame
For in apore loggyn here art thow leyde
Soe the angell seyde & tolde vs thy name
Holde take thow here my hat on thy hedde
And now off won thyng thow art well sped
For weddur thow hast noo nede to complayne
For wynde ne sun hayle snoo and rayne

PASTOR iij Hayle be thow lorde oũ? watur & landis
For thy cũyng all we ma make myrthe
Haue here my myttens to pytt on þ^{i} hondis
Othur treysure haue I non to present thé w^{t}

MARE Now herdmeñ hynd for youre comyng
To my chylde schall I p'^{a}e
Asse he ys heyvin kyng to grant you his blessyng
And to hys blys þ^{t} ye may wynd at your last day

Fol. 6

There the scheppdis syngith ageyne and goth forthe of þ^{e} place and the ij þfettis cũyth in and seyth thus

þFETA j Novellis novellis of wondrfull m?vellys
Weré hy & defuce vnto the heryng
Asse scripture tellis these strange novellis to you I bryng

ꝑfeta ij Now hartely sir I desyre to knoo
Yff hytt wolde pleyse you forto schoo
Of whatt maner a thyng

ꝑfeta j Weré mystecall vnto youre heryng
Of the nateveté off a kyng

ꝑfeta ij Of a kyng whence schuld he cũ

ꝑfeta j From thatt reygend ryall & mighty mancion
The sede seylesteall and heyvinly vysedome
The seycond ꝑson & godis one sun
For owre sake now ys man be cum̃
This godly spere desendid here
In to a v̊gin clere sche on defyld
Be whose warke obskevre
Owre frayle nature ys now begilde

ꝑfeta ij Why hathe sche a chyld

ꝑfeta j E trust hyt well & neů the las
Yet ys sche a mayde evin asse sche wasse
And hir sun the kyng of isaraell

ꝑfeta ij A wondur full marvell how thatt ma be
And far dothe exsell all owre capaseté
How thatt the treneté of soo hy regalleté
Schuld be jonyd vnto owre mortalleté

ꝑfeta j Of his one grett marcé as ye shall se ꝑ^e exposyssion
Throgh whose vmanyté all adam^9 ꝑgené
Reydemyd schalbé owt of ꝑdyssion
Syth mañ did offend who schuld amend
But the seyd moñ and no nothur
For the wyche cawse he incarnate wold be
And lyve in meseré asse man^9 one brothur

Fol. 6 b

ꝑfeta ij Syr vnto the deyité I beleve ꝑfettlé
Onpossibull to be there ys nothyng
How be yt this warke vnto me ys darke
In the oppacion or wyrkyng

ꝑfeta j Whatt more reypriff ys vnto belyff theñ to be dowtyng

ꝑfeta ij Yet dowtis oftym⁹ hathe derevacion

ꝑfeta j Thatt ys be þ^e meynes of comenecacioñ
Of trawthis to haue a dev ꝑbacion
Be þ^e same dowts reysoning

ꝑfeta ij Then to you thys won thyng
Of whatt nobull & hy lenage ys schee
Thatt myght þ^s ⁹vabull p⁹ncis modur be

ꝑfeta j Ondowtid sche ys cũ of hy parrage
Of the howse of davith & salamon the sage
And won off the same lyne joynid to hir be mareage
Of whose trybe we do subscryve this chy[*l*]dis lenage

ꝑfeta ij And why in thatt wysse

ꝑfeta j For yt wasse the gysse
To conte the parant on the manys lyne
And nott on the feymyne
Amonst vs here in isaraell

ꝑfeta ij Yett can I nott aspy be noo wysse
How thys chylde borne schuldbe w^t ow[*t*] naturis p⁹judyse

ꝑfeta j Nay no prejvdyse vnto nature I dare well sey
For the kyng of nature may hawe all at his one wyll
Dyd not þ^e powar of god make aronis rod beyre frute in on day

ꝑfeta ij Truth yt ys in ded

ꝑfeta j Then loke you and rede

ꝑfeta ij A I pseyve the sede where apon thatt you spake
Yt wasse for owre nede ꝑt he frayle nature did take
And his blod he schuld schede amens forto make
For owre transegression
Ase yt ys seyd in ꝑfecé ꝑt of the lyne of Jude
Schuld sprung a right messé
Be whom all wee schalld haue reydemcion

ꝑfeta j Sr. now ys the tyme cũ
& the date there of ruñ
Off his nateveté

ꝑfeta ij Yett I beseke you hartelé ꝑt ye wold schoo me how
Thatt this strange nowelté were broght vnto you

ꝑfeta j This othur nyght soo cold
Hereby apon a wolde
Scheꝑpdis wachyng thére fold
In the nyght soo far
To them aperid a star
& eyu? yt drev them nar
Wyche star thé did behold
Bryght? ꝑé sey M folde
Then the sun so clere
In his mydday spere
And thé these tythyngis tolde

ꝑfeta ij Whatt seycretly

ꝑfeta j Na na hardely
Thé made there of no conseil
For thé song ase lowde
Ase eyu? thé cowde
Presyng the kyng of isaraell

Fol. 7

ꝑFETA ij Yett do I marvell
In what pyle or castell
These herdmeñ dyd hym see

ꝑFETA j Nothur in hallis nor yett in bowris
Borne wold he not be
Nothur in castellis nor yet in towris
ꝑt. semly were to se
But att hys fathurs wyll
The ꝑfeci to full fyll
Be twyxt an ox and an as
Ihũ ꝑs kyng borne he was
Heyvin he bryng us tyll

ꝑFETA ij Sr a but when these scheppdis had seyne hym there
In to whatt place did thé repeyre

ꝑFETA j Forthe thé went and glad ꝑé were
Going ꝑé did syng
Wt myrthe & solas ꝑé made good chere
For joie of ꝑt new tything
And aftur asse I hard thé tell
He reywardid them full well
He graunt them hevyn ꝑr in to dwell
In ar thé gon wt. joie and myrthe
And there songe hit ys neowell

There the ꝑfettis gothe furthe & Erod cũyth in and ꝑe messenger Fol. 7 b

NONCEOSE Faytes pais dñyis baronys de grande reynowme
Payis seneoris schevaleris de nooble posance
Pays gentis homos cõpaneonys petis egrance
Je vos cõmand dugard treytus sylance
Payis tanque vottur nooble Roie syre ese p̃sance
Que nollis ꝑsone ese non fawis p̃wynt dedfferance
Nese harde de frappas mayis gardus to to paceance

Mayis gardus voter seneor to cor reyu?ance
Car elat vottur Roie to to puysance
Anoñ de leo pase tos je vose cum̃ande
E lay Roie erott la grandeaboly vos vmport

ERODE Qui statis in Jude et Rex iseraell
And the myghttyst conquerowre þ^t eyu? walkid on grownd
For I am evyn he thatt made bothe hevin & hell
& of my myghté powar holdith vp þ^s world rownd
Magog & madroke bothe þ^é did I confownde
And w^t this bryght bronde there bonis I brak on sund'r
Thatt all the wyde worlde on those rappis did wond'r
I am the cawse of this grett lyght and thund'r
Ytt ys throgh my furé þ^t thé soche noyse dothe make
My feyrefull contenance þ^e clowdis so doth incũbur
þ^t. oftym^o for drede þ^r of the verre yerth doth quake
Loke when I w^t. malés this bryght brond doth schake
All the whole world from the north to þ^e sowthe
I ma them dystroie w^t. won worde of my mowthe
To reycownt vnto you myn innevmerabull substance
Thatt were to moche for any tong to tell
For all the whole orent ys vnd'r myn obbeydeance
& prynce am I of purgatorre & cheff capten of hell
And those tyraneos trayturs be force ma I com̃pell
Myne eñmyis to vanquese & evyn to dust them dryve
& w^t. a twynke of myn iee not won to be lafte alyve
Behold my contenance and my colur
Bryghtur then the sun in the meddis of þ^e dey
Where can you haue a more grettur succur
Then to behold my þson that ys soo gaye
My fawcun & my fassion w^t. my gorgis araye
He thatt had the g^a^ce all wey þ^r on to thynke
Lyve thé myght all wey w^t. owt othur meyte or drynke
& thys my tryomfande fame most hylist dothe a bownde
Throgh owt this world in all reygeons abrod
Reysemelyng the fau? of thatt most myght mahownd

From Jubytor be desent & cosyn to the grett god
And namyd the most reydowndid kyng eyrodde
Wyche thatt all pryncis hath vnd^{r} subjeccion
And all there whole powar vndur my ꝑteccion
And therefore my hareode here callid calcas
Warne thow eyu^{e} porte thatt noo schyppis a ryve
Nor also aleond strang^{r} throg my realme pas
But thé for thére truage do pay markis fyve
Now spede thé forth hastelé
For thé thatt wyll the contraré
Apon a galowse hangid schalbe
& be mahownde of me thé gett noo g^{a}ce

NONCIOS

Now lord and mastur in all the hast
Thy worethé wyll ytt schall be wroght
& thy ryall cuntreyis schalbe past
In asse schort tyme ase can be thoght

ERODE

Now schall owre regeons throgh owt be soght
In eyu^{e} place bothe est & west
Yff any katyffis to me be broght
Yt schalbe nothyng for thére best
And the whyle thatt I do resst
Trompettis viallis and othur armoné
Schall bles the wakyng of my ma^{i}sté

Here erod goth awey & the iij kyngis speykyth in þ^{e} strete

REX j

Now blessid be god of his swet sonde
For yondur a feyre bryght star I do see
Now ys he com̃on vs a monge
Asse the ꝑfettis seyd thatt yt schuld be
Aseyd there schuld a babe be borne
Comyng of the rote of Jessé
To sawe mankynd that wasse for lorne
And truly com̃ now ys he

Fol. 8 b

Reyu?ence and worschip to hym woll I do
Asse god and man thatt all made of noght
All the ꝑfettis acordid and seyd evyn soo
That wt. hys p?sseos blod mankynd schuld be boght
He grant me gᵃce be yond?r star ꝑt I see
And in to thatt place bryng me
Thatt I ma hym worschipe wt. umelleté
And se hys gloreose face

REX ij

Owt off my wey I deme thatt I am
For toocuns of thys cuntrey can I non see
Now god thatt on yorth madist man
Send me sũ knoleyge where thatt I be
Yondur me thynke a feyre bryght star I see
The wyche be tocunyth the byrth of a chyld
Thatt hedur ys cũ to make man fre
He borne of amayde & sche nothyng defyld
To worschip thatt chyld ys myn in tent
Forth now wyll I take my wey
I trust sũ cũpany god hathe me sent
For yond?r I se a kyng labur on the wey
To warde hym now woll I ryde
Harke cũly kyng I you pray
In to whatt cost wyll ye thys tyde
Or weddur lyis youre jurney

REX j

To seke a chylde ys myne in tent
Of whom the ꝑfetis hathe ment
The tyme ys cũ now ys he sent
Be yondur star here ma [you] see

REX ij

Sr I prey you wt. your lysence
To ryde wth. you vnto his presence
To hym wyll I offur frank in sence
For the hed of all wholé churche schall he be

REX iij I ryde wanderyng in veyis wyde
Ou? montens and dalis I wot not where I am
Now kyng off all kyngis send me soche gyde
Thatt I myght haue knoleyge of thys cuntreys name
A yondur I se a syght be semyng all afar
The wyche be tocuns sum nevis ase I troo
Asse me thynke a chyld peryng in a stare
I trust he be cũ þt schall defend vs from woo
To kyngis yondur I see and to them woll I ryde
Forto haue there cũpane I trust þé wyll me abyde
Hayle cũly kyngis augent
Good surs I pray you whedd?r ar ye ment

REX j To seke a chylde ys owre in tent
Wyche be tocuns yond?r star asse ye ma see

REX ij To hym I purpose thys present

REX iij Surs I pray you and thatt ryght vmblee
Wt. you thatt I ma ryde in cũpané
To all myghté god now prey we
Thatt hys pressiose ꝑsone we ma se

Here Erode cũyth in ageyne & the messengere seyth

NUNCIOS Hayle lorde most off myght
Thy cõmandement ys right
In to thy land ys comyn þs nyght
iij kyngis and wt. them a grett cũpany

EROD Whatt make those kyngis in this cuntrey

NONCIOS To seke a kyng and a chyld thé sey

ERODE Of whatt age schuld he bee

NONCIOS Skant twellve deyis old fullé

EROD And wasse he soo late borne

NONCIOS E Syr soo thé schode me thys same dey in the morne

EROD Now in payne of deyth bryng them me beforne
And there fore harrode now hy thé in hast
In all spede thatt thow were dyght
Or thatt those kyngis the cuntrey be past
Loke thow bryng them all iij before my syght
And in Jerusalen inquere more of that chyld
But I warne thé that thy wordis be mylde
For there mast thow hede and crafté wey
How to for do his powere and those iij kyngis shalbe begild

NONCIOS Lorde I am reddé att youre byddyng
To sarve thé ase my lord and kyng
For joye there of loo how I spryng
W^{t} lyght hart & fresche gamboldyng
Alofte here on this molde

ERODE Then sped thé forthe hastély
And loke þ^{t} thow beyre thé eyvinly
And also I pray thé hartély that thow doo
Comand me bothe to yong and olde

NUNCIOS Hayle syr kyngis in youre degre
Erood kyng of these cuntreyis wyde
Desyrith to speyke w^{t} you all thre
And for youre comyng he dothe abyde

REX j Syr att his wyll we be ryght bayne
Hy us brethur vnto thatt lordis place
To speyke w^{t} hym we wold be fayne
Thatt chyld thatt we seke he grant us of his g^{a}ce

NUNCIOS Hayle lorde w^{t} owt pere
These iij kyngis here have we broght

ERODE Now welcũ syr kyngis all in fere
But of my bryght ble surs bassche ye noght
S^{r} kyngis ase I vndurstand
A star hathe gydid you into my land
Where in grett harie ye haue fonde
Be reysun of hir beym^{o} bryght
Wherefore I pray you hartely
The veré truthe thatt ye wold s?tefy Fol. 10
How long yt ys surely
Syn of that star you had furst syght

REX j S^{r} kynge the veré truthe to sey
And forto schoo you ase hit ys best
This same ys evin the xijth dey
Syth yt aperid to vs to be west

ERODE Brethur then ys there no more to sey
But w^{t} hart and wyll kepe ye your jurney
And cũ whom by me this same wey
Of your nevis thatt I myght knoo
You schall tryomfe in this cuntre
And w^{t} grett conquorde bankett w^{t} me
And thatt chyld myself then woll I see
And honor hym also

REX ij S^{r} youre cõmandement we woll fullfyll
And humbly abaye owreself there tyll
He thatt weldith all thyng at wyll
The reddé way hus teyche
S^{r} kyng thatt we ma passe your land in pes

ERODE Yes and walke softely eyvin at your one es
Youre pase porte for a C deyis
Here schall you haue of clere cum̃and
Owre reme to labur any weyis
Here schall you haue be spesschall grante

REX iij Now fare well kyng of hy degre
Humbly of you owre leyve we take

ERODE Then adev S^{r} kyngis all thre
And whyle I lyve be bold of me
There ys nothyng in this cuntre
But for youre one ye schall yt take
Now these iij kyngis ar gon on þ^{r} wey
On wysely & on wyttely haue thé all wroghte
When thé cũ ageyne thé schall dy þ^{t} same dey
And thus these vyle wreychis to deyth þ^{é} schalbe broght
Soche ys my lykyng
He that agenst my lawis wyll hold
Be he kyng or keysar neyu? soo bold
I schall them cast in to caris cold
And to deyth I schall them bryng

Fol. 10 b

There Erode goth his weyis & the iij kyngis cũ in ageyne

REX j O blessid god moche ys thy myght
Where ys this star thatt gawe vs lyght

REX ij Now knele we downe here in this presence
Be sekyng that lord of hy maugnefecens
That we ma see his hy exsellence
Yff thatt his swet wylbe

REX iij Yondur brothur I see the star
Where by I kno he ys nott far
Therefore lordis goo we nar
Into þ^{e} pore place

There the iij kyngis gois in to the Jesen to maré & hir child

REX j Hayle lorde thatt all this worlde hath wroght

Hale god and man to gedur in fere
For thow hast made all thyng of noght
Albe yt thatt thow lyist porely here
A cupe full [*of*] golde here I haue thé broght
In toconyng thow art w^{t} owt pere

REX ij Hayle be thow lorde of hy maugnyffecens
In toconyng of p̄steod & dyngneté of offece
To thé I offur a cupe full off in sence
For yt be hovith thé to haue soche sacrefyce

REX iij Hayle be thow lorde longe lokid fore
I haue broght thé myre for mortaleté
In to cunyng thow schalt mankynd restore
To lyff be thy deyth apoñ a tre

MARE God haue m̄cé kyngis of yowre goodnes
Be the gydyng of the godhed hidd̄r ar ye sent
The p̧vyssion off my swete sun your weyis whom̃ reydres
And gostely reywarde you for youre present

REX j Syr kyngis aftur owre p̧mes
Whome be Erode I mvst nedis goo

Fol. 11

REX ij Now truly berthur we can noo las
But I am soo far wachid I wott not wat to do

REX iij Ryght soo am I where fore I you pray
Lett all vs rest vs awhyle upon þ^{s} grownd

REX j Brethur you̅ seying ys right well vnto my pay
The g^{a}ce of thatt swet chylde saue vs all sownde

ANGELL[9] Kyng of tawrus Sr Jesp
Kyng of arraby S^{r} balthasar
Melchor kyng of aginaré

To you now am I sent
For drede of Eyrode goo you west whom
In to those pties when ye cũ downe
Ye schalbe byrrid w^{t} gret reynowne
The whollé gost thus knoleyge hath sent

REX j Awake S^{r} kyngis I you praye
For the voise of an angell I hard in my dreyme

REX ij Thatt ys full tru thatt ye do sey
For he reyherssid owre names playne

REX iij He bad thatt we schuld goo downe be west
For drede of Eyrodis fawls be traye

REX j Soo forto do yt ys the best
The child that we haue soght gyde vs the wey
Now fare well the feyrist of schapp soo swete
And thankid be Jhũ of his sonde
Thatt we iij to ged$^{?}$r soo suddenly schuld mete
Thatt dwell soo wyde & in straunge lond
And here make owre presentacion
Vnto this kyngis son clensid soo cleyne
And to his mod$^{?}$r for ovre saluacion
Of moche myrth now ma we meyne
Thatt we soo well hath done this obblacion

REX ij Now farewell Sr Jaspar brothur to yoeu
Kyng of tawrus the most worthé
S^{r} balthasar also to you I bow
And I thanke you bothe of youre good cũpany
Thatt we togeddur haue had
He thatt made vs to mete on hyll
I thanke hym now and eyu$^{?}$ I wyll
For now may we goo w^{t} owt yll
And off owre offerynge be full fayne

REX iij

Now syth thatt we mvst nedly goo
For drede of erode thatt ys soo wrothe
Now fare well brothur & brothur also
I take my leve here at you bothe
This dey on fote
Now he thatt made vs to mete on playne
And offurde to maré in hir jeseyne
He geve vs g^{a}ce in heyvin a gayne
All to geyd$^{?}$r to mete

NUNCIOS

Hayle kynge most worthist in wede
Hayle manteinar of cur$^{?}$se throgh all þ^{s} world wyde
Hayle the most myghtyst that eyu$^{?}$ bestrod a stede
Ha[*y*]ll most monfullist moñ in armor man to abyde
Hayle in thyne hoonowre
Thesse iij kyngis þ^{t} forthe were sent
And schuld haue cũ ageyne before þ^{é} here p$^{?}$sent
Anothur wey lorde whom thé went
Contrare to thyn honowre

ERODE

A nothur wey owt owt owtt
Hath those fawls traytvrs done me þ^{s} ded
I stampe I stare I loke all abowtt
Myght I them take I schuld them bren at a glede
I rent I rawe & now run I wode
A thatt these velen trayturs hath mard þ^{s} my mode
Thé schalbe hangid yf I ma cũ them to

Fol. 12

Here Erode ragis in þ^{e} pagond & in the strete also

E and thatt kerne of bedlem he schalbe ded
And thus schall I for do his þfecé
How sey you S^{r} knyghtis ys not this the best red
Thatt all yong chyldur for this schuld be dede

Wyth sworde to be slayne
Then schall I Erod lyve in lede
And all folke me dowt and drede
And offur to me bothe gold rychesse & mede
Thereto wyll thé be full fayne

MYLES j My lorde kyng Erode be name
Thy wordis agenst my wyll schalbe
To see soo mãy yong chyld^{n}r dy ys schame
Therefore consell þ^{r} to gettis þ^{u} non of me

MYLES ij Well seyd fello my trawth I plyght
S^{r} kyng þseyve right well you may
Soo grett a mord^{n}r to see of yong frute
Wyll make a rysyng in þ^{i} noone cuntrey

ERODE A rysyng owt owt owt

There Erode ragis ageyne and then seyth thus

Owt velen wrychis har apon you I cry
My wyll vtturly loke þ^{t} yt be wroght
Or apon a gallowse bothe you schall dy
Be mahownde most myghtyste þ^{t} me dere hath boght

MYLES j Now cruell Erode syth we schall do this dede
Your wyll nedefully in this realme mvste be wroght
All the chyld^{n}r of þ^{t} age dy thé mvst nede
Now w^{t} all my myght thé schall be vpsoght

MYLES ij And I woll sweyre here apon your bryght sworde
All the chyld r thatt I fynd sclayne þ^{é} schalbe
Thatt make many a mod^{n}r to wepe
And be full sore aferde

In owre armor bryght when thé hus see

ERODE Now you have sworne forth þ^t ye goo Fol. 12 b
And my wyll thatt ye wyrke bothe be dey & nyght
And then wyll I for fayne trypp lyke a doo
But whan thé be ded I warne you bryng ham be fore my syght

ANGELL^9 Maré and Josoff to you I sey
Swete word from the fathur I bryng you full ryght
Owt of bedlem in to eygype forth goo ye þ^e wey
And w^t you take the kyng full of myght
For drede of Eroddis red'

JOSOFF A ryse up maré hastely and sone
Owre lordis wyll nedys mvst be done
Lyke ase the angell vs bad

MARE Mekely Josoff my none spowse
Towarde that cuntrey let vs reypeyre
Att eygyp sũ tocun off howse
God grant hus g^ace saff to cũ there

Here the wemẽ cũ in wythe there chyldur syngyng them
and maré & Josoff goth awey cleyne

WOMON j I lolle my chylde wondursly swete
And in my narm^9 I do hyt kepe
Be cawse thatt yt schuld not crye

WOMAN ij Thatt babe thatt ys borne in bedlem so meke
He saue my chyld and me from velany

WOMAN iij Be styll be styll my lyttull chylde

That lorde of lordis saue bothe thé & me
For Erode hath sworne w^{t} wordis wyld
Thatt all yong chyldur sclayne þ^{é} schalbe

MYLES j Sey ye wyddurde wyvis whydd$^{?}$r ar ye a wey
What beyre you in youre arm^{o} nedis mvst we se
Yff thé be mañ chyldur dy thé mvst þ^{s} dey
For at Eroddis wyll all thyng mvst be

MYLES ij And I in handis wonys them̃ hent
Them forto sley noght woll I spare
We mvst full fyll erodis com̃andement
Elis be we asse trayturs & cast all in care

WOMAN j S^{r} knyghtis of youre curtessée
Thys dey schame not youre chevaldre
But on my child haue pytté
For my sake in this styde
For a sympull sclaghtur yt were to sloo
Or to wyrke soche a chyld woo
þ$^{t.}$ can nod$^{?}$r speyke nor goo
Nor neu$^{?}$ harme did

WOMON ij He thatt sleyis my chyld in syght
Yff thatt my strokis on hym ma lyght
Be he skwyar or knyght
I hold hym but lost
Se thow fawls losyngere
A stroke schalt thow beyre me her$^{?}$
And spare for no cost

WOMAN iij Sytt he neyu$^{?}$ soo hy in saddull
But I schall make his braynis addull
& here w$^{t.}$ my pott ladull

Wt. hym woll I fyght
I schall ley on hym athog I wode were
Wt. thys same womanly geyre
There schall noo man steyre
Wheddur thatt he be kyng or knyght

MYLES j Who hard eyu? soche a cry Fol. 13 b
Of wemen thatt there chyldur haue lost
And grettly reybukyng chewaldry
Throgh owt this reme in eyue? cost
Wyche many a mans lyff ys lyke to cost
For thys grett wreyche þt here ys done
I feyre moche wengance þr off woll cũ

MYLES ij E brothur soche talis may we not tell
Where fore to the kyng lett vs goo
For he ys lyke to beyre the þell
Wyche wasse the cawser that we did soo
Yett must thé all be broght hym to
Wt. waynis and waggyns fully fryght
I tro there wolbe a carefull syght

MYLES j Loo Eyrode kyng here mast thow see
How many M' thatt we haue slayne

MYLES ij And nedis thy wyll full fyllid must be
There ma no mon sey there ageyne

NU'CLOS Eyrode kyng I schall thé tell
All thy dedis ys cũ to noght
This chyld ys gone in to eygipte to dwell
Loo Sr in thy none land what wondurs byn wroght

EROD Into eygipte alas for woo
Lengur in lande here I canot abyde
Saddull my palfrey for in hast wyll I goo
Aftur yondur trayturs now wyll I ryde
Them for to sloo
Now all men hy fast
In to eygipte in hast
All thatt cuntrey woll I tast
Tyll I ma cũ them to

Fynes lude de taylars and scharmen.

T[h]ys matter
nevly correcte be Robart Croo
the xiiijth dey of marche
fenysschid in the yere of owre lorde god
M CCCCC & xxxiiij^{te}.
then beyng mayre mastur Palmar
also mastris of the seyd fellyschipp Hev Corbett
Randull Pynkard and
John Baggeley.

Theise Songes

BELONGE TO

THE TAYLORS & SHEAREMENS PAGANT.

THE FIRST AND THE LASTE THE SHEPHEARDS SINGE
AND THE SECOND OR MIDDLEMOST THE WOMEN SINGE.

Thomas Mawdycke

die decimo tertio Maij anno dñi millessimo quingentesimo nonagesimo primo.
Praetor fuit ciuitatis Couentriae D. Mathaens Richardson tunc Consules
Johanes Whitehead ꝛ Thomas Grauener.

SONG I.

As I out rode this enderes night
Of thre ioli sheppardes I saw a sight
And all a bowte there fold a star shone bright
They sange terli terlow
So mereli the sheppards ther pipes can blow

SONG II.

Lully lulla þ^{w} littell tiné child
By by lully lullay þ^{w} littell tyné child
By by lully lullay

O sisters too how may we do
For to preserve þ^{is} day
This pore yongling for whom we do singe
By by lully lullay

Herod the king in his raging
Chargid he hath this day
His men of might in his owne sight
All yonge children to slay

That wo is me pore child for thee
And ever morne and say
For thi parting nether say nor singe
By by lully lullay

SONG III.

Doune from heavẽ from heavẽ so hie
Of angeles þ^er^ came a great cõpanie
W^t^ mirthe and ioy and great solemnitye
Thé sange terly terlow
So mereli the sheppards þ^er^ pipes cã blow

Glossary and Illustrations

TO THE

PAGEANT OF THE SHEARMEN AND TAYLORS.

Line 1	Page 83	SOFFERENT—sovereign.
10		WHOLLENES—holiness.
13		ABOWE—above; *w* for *v* occurs frequently.
14	84	SUFFER'NTIS—sovereigns.
21		FATHUR IN TRONE—triune, in trinity.
23		MEVE—move, discourse.
14	85	SOORE—sore, exceedingly.
16		KAST I ME—thought I me.
17		WYTT—reason.
18		WHOLLE—holy
27		THY NOONE—thine own.
10	86	BE TEYCHE—commit
12		LEYDE—lead, guide.
12		LEYCHE—physician.
19		SCHENT—ruined.
22		EYVIN—ꝥen Sax. equal, fellow.
23		SOND—ꝼonde Sax. messenger.
24		LEY BE—lay by, cease.
29		MY NYNEE—my eyne, eyes.
10	87	ꝥt ACOLD—called that.
12		STAND & TRUSE—truss, tie up my points. This appears to have been a colloquial phrase.
28		TRAYNE—train, connexion.
1	88	SAWE—save, (vide remark on "Abowe," page 83, line 13)
3		TYTHYNGIS—tidings; *th* is used indiscriminately for *d*.
10		THOGHT—though.
16	88	WYNDE—ꝑenꝺ Sax. wend, go.
18		THIS GRETT—thus great.

Line 26 Page 88 DRESSE—address.

28 LEYGIS—leagues.

3 89 WERE—very.

3 DRAITH—draweth.

5 HYNDLY—gently.

26 WEDURS—pæðeɲeƿ Sax. clouds. Wyntown uses the word thus:—

"And pare-til waytyd abrycht Day
Quhen wykyd weddyrys ware away."

30 LOOE—lope Sax. a mount

9 90 PYRIE—byr Isl.: *ventus secundus*, and Pirr is so used in Scotland. It is however found in several old English writers, expressive of a sudden storm at sea.—*See Nares and Todd.*

20 TYDE—time.

3 91 J CHILDE—one, a child.

16 SOO MYRRE A QUERE—so merry a choir.

5 92 NEVIS—news

14 MY NARMYS—mine arms.

15 BE FYLD & BE FRYTH—by land and by sea.

22 HYND—gentle.

4 93 DAVITHIS—david's.

28 P'FETTIS—prophets.

29 NOVELLIS—nouvelles Fr. news.

30 WERE HY & DEFUSE—very high and diffuse.

11 94 SPERE—spirit. *Spiraculum*, flatus vel spiritus.—*Ducange.*

8 95 TRAWTHIS—truths.

12 V'ABULL—valuable.

13 PARRAGE—parage Fr. extraction, lineage.

18 GYSSE—guise Fr. way, manner.

19 CONTE—count, reckon.

7 96 MESSE—messiah.

21 M—mille Lat. a thousand.

27 CONSEIL—concealment.

2 97 PYLE—a small castle. Over the word Pyle, some later hand has written Pallays.

4 NOTHUR IN HALLIS.—Lidgate, in his Life of our Lady, amongst other interrogations about the lowly place of her confinement, asks:—

"Or was her paleys buylt of lyme & stone,
Or the pyllers sett on marble gray,
Or the grounde paved on to gone,
Or fresshe parloures glased bright as day,
Or were therein chambres of aray,
Or for estates was there any halle,
Save a doungeon & an oxes stalle?"

13 97 ABUT—ah but.

Line 23 Page 97 NEOWELL—noël Fr. Christmas; also a Christmas Carol, to which this word was formerly a frequent burden.

25 NONCEOSE.—The language of Heralds in early times was French, and the practice of declaring the titles of deceased Kings and Nobles in that tongue, is still continued by them. The "Oyez" of Proclamations will also occur to the reader, as another reason for Herod's Nuncio making his speech in French.

10 98 BRONDE—sword.

11 RAPPIS—blows.

24 EVYN TO DUST THEM DRYVE.—

"Deþ cam dremend [dreivend] after and al to dust paihste
Kynges and Knyghtes caysers and popes."—*Pier's Plouhman.*

30 MY FAWCUN & MY FASSION—my falcon and my falchion.
During this speech, Herod seems to have been flourishing the latter in his right hand, whilst he supported the former on his left.

5 99 HAREODE—herald.

7 ALEOND—by land.

8 TRUAGE—treüage Fr, toll, custom.

23 MAIESTE—majesty.

25 SONDE—ȝonde Sax. messenger.

11 100 YORTH—earth.

20 LABUR—travel.

24 WEDDUR—whither.

26 MENT—made mention.

7 101 PERYNG—appearing.

9 TO—two.

11 AUGENT—august.

12 MENT—minded to go.

2 102 E SYR—aye Sir.

11 FOR DO—foredo, prevent, hinder.

25 BAYNE—bayne Scot. ready, prepared.

1 103 IN FERE—in company, together.

2 BLE—bleo Sax. colour, complexion.

2 BASSCHE YE NOT—be not abashed or afraid.

5 HARIE—harie Fr. hurry, trouble, disquiet.

25 WELDITH—weildeth.

29 C—centum Lat. an hundred.

25 104 NAR—near.

27 JESEN—Gesine Fr. a lyingin childbed.

gesine

"Item un tablet d'argent susorrez et ennamailez de la *gesnie* n're dame."—*Will of Edward, Earl of March.*

11 105 MYRE—myrrh.

16 WHOM—home.

21 WACHID—weary, tired.

24 PAY—paye Fr. liking, satisfaction

Line 14 Page 106 SCHAPP—shape or make.

15 SONDE—ȝonde Sax. messenger.

31 FAYNE—ȝagen Sax. glad. The original word evidently was "glad," rhyming to "had," four lines preceding, and the alteration does not reflect much credit on the taste of Robert Croo.

10 107 WEDE—raiment.

22 BREN AT A GLEDE—burn at a fire.

23 RENT—rend, tear.

23 WODE—mad.

26 HERE ERODE RAGIS IN ꝑe PAGOND & IN THE STRETE ALSO.—

The boisterous character of Herod, as represented in ancient Mysteries, receives a more complete elucidation in the Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors, than from any other of these performances; and to use the words of Mr. Douce, he "may be truly said on the present occasion to completely *out-herod* the others." The introductory speech of Herod in the Ludus Coventriæ is given below, and a comparison of it with the parallel portion of the Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant, will shew a remarkable similarity in the language and conception of this character by two different writers; evidently pointing to a common origin, and corroborating the assertion previously made of the general resemblance of the Mysteries to each other. It may be observed, that in the Ludus Coventriæ, Herod makes his first appearance on horseback, and consequently in the street, which also is the case with the three Kings in the Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors:—

HERODES REX As a lord in ryalte in non Regyon so ryche
And ruler of all remys j ryde i' ryal aray
Ther is no lord of lond in lordchep to me lyche
Non loftlyer non lofsu'mer evyr lestyng is my lay
Of bewte & of boldnes j ber evyr mor' ꝑe belle
Of mayn & of myght j mast' every man
J dy'ge wt. my dowtynes ꝑe devyl down to helle
For bothe of hevyn & of herth j am kynge sertayn
I am ꝑe comelyeste kynge clad in gleterynge golde
Za & ꝑe semelyeste syr ꝑt. may be stryde a stede
I welde att my wyll all wyghts upon molde
Za and wurthely j am wrappyd in a wurthey wede
Ze knyghts so comely bothe curteys & kene
to my paleys wyll j passe full prest j zow plyth
Ze dukys so dowty ffolwe me be dene
On to my ryal paleys ꝑe way lyth ful ryght
Wyghtly fro my stede j skyppe down in hast
to my' hy hallys j hast me in my way
Ze mynstrell' of myrth blowe up a good blast
Whyll j go to chaumer & chaunge my array.

Our immortal Bard has no less than three distinct allusions to this character:—

It out-herod's Herod.—*Hamlet*, act iii. scene 2.

What a Herod of Jewry is this?—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act ii. sc. 1.

——————— Good majesty!
Herod of Jewry dare not look upon you
But when you are well pleas'd.—*Antony and Cleopatra*, act iii. sc. 3.

Another interesting and direct reference has lately appeared in the 5th volume of "Paston Letters," page 228:—

"And as for Halysdon my lord of Suffolk was ther on Wednesday—at hys beyng ther þt daye ther was never no man þt playd Herrod in Corpus Crysty play better and more agreable to hys pageaunt then he."—*From J. Wheatley to Sir John Paston*, 1478.

The Vignette at the end of the Pageant is intended to represent the time of action when Herod is informed by his messenger that the Kings have returned home another way.

Line 27 Page 107 KERNE—kern, Norm. Fr. an idle person, a vagabond.
28 FOR DO—foredo, prevent.
29 RED—ȝeþ Sax. counsel, advice.
2 108 LEDE—fame, popularity.
3 DOWT—fear.
4 MEDE—reward.
13 þi NOONE—thine own.
16 VELEN WRYCHIS—villain wretches.
16 HAR APON YOU—plague or vexation upon you.
4 110 WYDDURDE—wedded.
8 WONYS—once.
8 HENT—take.
24 LOSYNGERE—a liar; leaȝian Sax. to lie.
2 111 ATHOG I WODE WERE—as though I was mad.
11 WREYCHE—wreaking.
21 M'—mille Lat. a thousand.
23 SEY—assay, attempt.
1 113 ENDERES—enðenehȝt Sax. the last.
6 LULLY—lulla. Lullay is a common burden to old songs, partaking of what may be called a nursery character. Of these the most ancient is probably that in Harl. MS. 913, fo. 30, as copied below:

Lollai l[ollai] litil child whi wepistou so sore
Nedis mostow wepe hit was izarkid þe zore
Ev' to lib i' sorow a' sich a' mourne ever
As þin eldren did er þis whil hi alives wer
Lollai [lollai] litil child child lolai lullow
I'to uncuþ world icom'en so ertow.

Bestis a' þos foules þe fisses i' þe flode
A' eu'ch schef alives imakid of bone a' blode
Whan hi com'iþ to þe world hi doþ ha' silfe su' gode
Al bot þe wrech brol þ^t. is of adam is blode
Lollai l[ollai] litil child to kar ertou be mette
Dou nost nozt þis world is wild bi for þe is isette.

Child if be tidith þ^t. þou ssalt þrive a' þe
Dench þou wer ifostred up þi moder kne
Ev' hab mund i' þi hert of þos þenges þre
Whan þou com'ist whan þou art a' what ssal co' of þe
Lolla l[olla] litil child child lollai lollai
Wiþ sorow þou co' i'to þis world wiþ sorow ssalt wend awai.

Ne t'ston to þis world hit is þi fulw
De rich he makiþ pouer þe pore rich also
Hit t'neþ wo to wel a' eke wel to wo
Ne t'st no ma' to þis world whil hit t'niþ so
Lollai l[ollai] litil child þe fote is in þe whele
Dou nost whoder turne to wo oþ' wele

Child þou art a pilg'm in wikidnis ibor
Dou wandrest i' þis fals world þou lok' þe bi for
Deþ ssal co' wiþ a blast ute of awel dim horre
Adam is kin dun to cast hi' silf hoþ ido be for
Lollai l[ollai] litil child os wo þe worþ Adam
I' þe lond of p'adis þroz wikidnes of satan

Child þou nert a pilg'im bot an uncuþ gist
Di dawes beþ itold þi jurneis beþ icast
Whod' þou salt wend norþ oþer est
Deþ þe sal be tide wiþ bitter bale i' brest
Lolla l[olla] litil child þis wo ada' þe wrozt
When he of þe appil ete a' eve hit hi' betacht.

In the same MS. at folio 61 b, is a Latin versification of the first and second stanzas, at the end of which the translation terminates abruptly.

Hox Tuesday Play.

O few illustrations of this singular Exhibition are to be found in the ancient documents of the City, that notwithstanding the Coventry men, according to the Recorder's speech to Queen Elizabeth in 1565, considered themselves as keeping up in this spectacle "a memoriall" of an historical fact, in which their civic ancestors were principal parties, yet are we indebted for the most important particulars of it to the accidental circumstance of Laneham's recording their performance before the Queen, at Kenilworth, upon her celebrated visit to the Earl of Leicester in 1574.

The first notice of the Coventry Hox Tuesday Play that has been discovered is the following article in the MS. Annals of the City, under the year 1416:—"The Pageants and Hox Tuesday invented wherein the King and Nobles took great delight." It is by no means improbable that the first invention or representation of the Hox Tuesday Play in Coventry is here correctly recorded, though from a confusion of ideas upon the general subject, the annalist has limited the introduction of Pageants exclusively to this year, which is certainly erroneous (as has been shewn, page 8,) since the Smiths' Company were, in 1414, discharged of the Cutlers' Pageant, and the Drapers had a Pageant House so early as 1392.

Pursuing the subject chronologically, the next reference to the Hox Tuesday Play occurs in the speech of John Throgmorton, Recorder of Coventry, to Queen Elizabeth, upon her visit there, August 17, 1565; wherein describing at considerable length, the natural situation of the City and its ancient history, in proceeding with the latter subject he says:—"And after the arivall of the Daynes who miserablye afflicted the people of this realme, the inhabitants of this Citie wth ther neighboures vtterly overthrewe them in the laste conflicte wth the

Saxons. A memoriall whereof is kepte to this daye by certen open shewes in this Citie yearely."

The following are the only entries in the Companies' Books of Accounts connected with the subject, that have been discovered:—

1568.—p'd for harnis men & pwynts for hoge twesday.....xx^{d}
1569.—p'd for ij harnis men upon hocks twesday.....viij^{d}
Smiths' Company.

1568.—Itm̃ payd for carryenge of ij harnesses & poynts uppon hoc-
tewsdaye.....vj^{d}
1576.—paide ffor hyre of ij harnisses on oxe tewsdaye.....viij^{d}
payde ffor wearyne ye same harnisses & ffor poyntes .....viij^{d}
Cappers' Company.

1576.—Payd for beryng of harnys apon hocks Tewysdaye.....ij^{s}
Drapers' Company.

The minute and diverting account of this "olld storiall sheaw", and Captain Cox, its master of the ceremonies upon the present occasion, is accurately given below, from Laneham's Letter:—

"And heertoo folloed az good a sport (methooght), prezented in an historicall ku, by certain good harted men of Couentree, my Lordes neighboors thear: who understanding amoong them ye thing that coold not bee hidden from ony: hoow carefull and studious hiz honor waz, that by all pleazaunt recreasions her highnes might best fynd her self wellcom and bee made gladsum and mery (the groundworke indeede and foundacion of hiz Lordships myrth and gladnesse of us all), made petition that they moought renu noow their olld storiall sheaw: Of argument how the Danez whylom heere in a troubloous seazon wear for quietnesse born withall & suffeard in peas, that anon by outrage & importabl insolency, abuzing both Ethelred the king then and all estates euerie whear byside: at the greueoous complaint & coounsell of Huna the kings chieftain in warz, on Saint Brices night, Ann. Dom. 1012, [more correctly 1002]. (Az the book sayz, that falleth yeerely on the thirteenth of November) wear all dispatcht and the Ream rid. And for becauz the matter mencioneth how valiantly our English women for looue of their cuntree behaued themseluez: expressed in actionz & rymez after theirmaner, they thought it mooght mooue sum myrth to her Maiestie the rather.

"The thing said they iz grounded on story, and for pastime woont too bee plaid in oour Cittee yeerely: without ill exampl of mannerz, papistry, or ony superstition: and elz did so occupy the heads of a number, that likely inoough woold haue had woorz meditationz: had an auncient beginning and a long continuauns; tyll noow of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why onless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz: men very commendabl for their behauiour and learning, & sweet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching awey theyr pastime: wisht therefore, that az they shoold continu their good doctrine in pulpet, so, for matters of pollicy & gouernauns of the Citie, they woold permit them to the Mair and Magistratez: and seyed by my feyth, Master Martyn, they woold make theyr humbl peticion untoo her highnes, that they might haue theyr playz up agayn.

"But aware, keep bak, make room noow, heer they cum. And fyrst captin Cox, an od man I promiz yoo: by profession a Mason, and that right skilfull, very cunning in fens, and hardy az Gawin, for his tonsword[a] hangs at his tablz eend: great ouersight hath he in matters of storie: For az for king Arthurz book, Huõ of Burdeaus, The foour suns of Aymon, Beuys of Hampton, The squyre of lo degree, The knight of courtesy, and the Lady Faguell, Frederik of Gene, Syr Eglamoour, Syr Tryamoour, Syr Lamwell, Syr Isenbras, Syr Gawyn, Olyuer of the Castl, Lucres and Eurialus, Virgils life, the castl of Ladiez. The wido Edyth, The King & the Tanner, Frier Rous, Howleglas, Gargantua, Robinhood, Adambel, Clim of the clough & Williã of cloudesley, The Churl & the Burd, The seauen wise Masters, The wife lapt in a Morels skin, The sak full of neuz. The sergeaunt that became a Fryar, Skogan, Collyn cloout, The Fryar & the boy, Elynor Rumming, and the Nutbrooun maid, with many moe then I rehearz heere: I beleeue hee haue them all at hiz fingers endz.

"Then in Philosophy both morall & naturall, I think he be az naturally ouerseen: beside poetrie and Astronomie, and oother hid sciencez, as I may gesse by the omberty of his books: whearof part az I remember, the Shepherdz kalender,

[a] Tousword. In the account of expences by the Drapers' Company on Midsummer Night, 1557, occur, fifteen gunners, a flag-bearer, a flute, drum, and a "wysseler." There is also the following item:—"payd for a *longsworde* & the skouring xij^{d}", which long-sword was evidently for the person marshalling or commanding the fifteen gunners, and seems to be exactly analogous to the *tonsword* of Captain Cox.

The Wardrobe Accompt of Edward Duke of Buckingham, 8th Henry VIII. in the possession of the Right Hon. Lord Stafford, contains the following entry:—"j vagina nigri pro le *Two-handeswerde* Domini Ducis." The elision in the pronunciation of two-handed to "to—'nd" and "to—n" is very obvious, and perfectly natural in our language.

The Ship of Foolz, Danielz dreamz, the booke of Fortune, *Stans puer ad mensam*, the hy wey to the Spitlhouse, Julian of Brainfords testatment, the castle of Loue, the booget of Demaunds, the hundred Mery talez, the book of Riddels, the Seauen sororz of wemen, the prooud wiues Pater noster, the Chapman of a peniwoorth of Wit: Beside hiz auncient playz. Yooth & charitee, Hikskorner, Nugize, Impacient pouerty, and herewith doctor Boords breuiary of health. What shoold I rehearz heer, what a bunch of ballets & songs all auncient: Az Broom broom on hil, So wo iz me begon, troly lo. Ouer a whinny Meg, Hey ding a ding, Bony lass upon a green, My bony on gaue me a bek. By a bank az I lay: and a hundred more, he hath fair wrapt up in Parchment and bound with a whipcord.

"And az for Allmanaks of antiquitee (a point for Ephemerides), I weene hee can sheaw from Jasper Laet of Antwarp unto Nostradam of Frauns, and thens untoo oour John Securiz of Salsbury. To stay ye no longer heerin I dare say hee hath az fair a library for theez sciencez, & as many goodly monuments both in proze & poetry & at afternoonz can talk az much without book, az ony Inholder betwixt Brainford and Bagshot, what degree soeuer he be.

"Beside thiz in the field a good Marshall at musters: of very great credite & trust in the toun heer, for he haz been chozẽ Alecunner many a yeere, when hiz betterz haue stood by: & euer quited himself with such estimation, az yet too tast of a cup of Nippitate, hiz iudgement will be taken aboue the best in the parish, be hiz noze near so read.

"Captain Cox cam marching on valiantly before, cleen trust & gartered aboue the knee, all fresh in a veluet cap (master Golding hã lent it him) floorishing with hiz tonswoord, and another fensmaster with him: thus in the forward making room for the rest. After thẽ proudly prickt on formost, the danish launsknights on horsbak, and then the English: each with their allder poll martially in their hand. Eeuen at the first entree the meeting waxt sumwhat warm: that by and by kindled with corage abothsidez, gru from a hot skirmish unto a blazing battail: first by speare and shield, outragious in their racez az ramz at their rut, with furious encoounterz that togyther they tumbl too the dust, sumtime hors and man: and after fall too it with sworde & target, good bangz a both sidez: the fight so ceassing, but the battail not so ended, folloed the footmen; both the hostez ton after toother: first marching in ranks: then warlik turning, thẽ frõ ranks into squadrons, then intoo trianglz frõ that intoo rings, & so winding oout again: A valiant captain of great prowez az fiers az a fox assauting a gooz, waz

so hardy to give the first stroke: then get they grisly togyther: that great waz the actiuitee that day too be seen thear a both sidez: ton very eager for purchaz of pray, toother utterly stoout for redemption of libertie: thus, quarrell enflamed fury a both sidez. Twise the Danes had ye better, but at the last conflict, beaten doun, ouercom and many led captiue for triumph by our English weemen.

"This waz the effect of this sheaw; that az it waz handled, made mooch matter of good pastime: brought all indeed intoo the great coourt, een under her highnes windo too haue been seen: but (az unhappy it waz for the bride) that cam thither too soon (and yet waz it a four a clok), For her highnes beholding in the chamber delectabl dauncing indeed: and heerwith the great throng and unrulines of the people, waz cauz that this solemnitee of Brideale, & dauncing had not the full muster waz hoped for: and but a littl of the Couentree plea her highnes also saw: commaunded thearfore on the Tuisday folloing to haue it ful oout: az accordingly it waz prezented, whearat her Maiestie laught well: they wear the iocunder, and so mooch the more becauz her highnes had giuen them too buckes and fiue marke in mony to make mery togyther: they prayed for her Maiesty, long, happily to reign & oft to cum thither that oft they moought see heer: & what, reioycing upon their ampl reward, and what, triumphing upon the good acceptauns: they vaunted their play waz neuer so dignified, nor euer any players afore so beatified."

The result of this representation before the Queen, and of the petition by the men of Coventry, "that they might haue theyr playz up agayn", appears in the following extract from the MS. Annals of the City:—

1575.—Thomas Nycklyn Mayor—"This yeare the said maior caused hoc twesday wherby is mencioned a overthrowe of the Danes by the inhabitants of this Citie to be againe set up and shewed forthe, to his great cõmendacõn and the Cities great comoditie wch. said hoc twesday was the yeare before plaide before the Quene at Kenelworth in the tyme of her p̄gresse by the cõmaundement of the Quenes Counsell".

Another MS. says, "This year the Pageants or Hox tuesday that had been laid down 8 years were played again".

There is an error in this last statement as applying to the Pageants generally, perhaps arising from the transcriber of the original writing having converted *of* into *or*; for the accustomed Pageants at Corpus Christi had been regularly played during the period above mentioned. Whether the subsequent performance of this "play" continued until 1580, when the other Pageants were suppressed, does

not appear; though we may reasonably conclude that it shared the same fate: and the only mention of it after 1575 occurs in the order of Common Council, 1591 (p. 12 ante), where, under the title of "The Conquest of the Danes, or the Historie of K. E. the X." it is allowed to be played that year, being the last time it was performed.

The origin of Hoke-day, Hoke-tuesday, or Hoke-tide, (for by these different names this once popular holiday was designated,) is involved in considerable obscurity. By some writers it is supposed to be commemorative of the massacre of the Danes in the reign of Ethelred, on the 13th of November, 1002; whilst by others the deliverance of the English from the tyranny of the Danes, by the death of Hardicanute, on Tuesday the 8th of June, 1042, is pointed out as its origin. Laneham adopts the former hypothesis, though the weight of argument seems to preponderate in favour of the national deliverance by Hardicanute's death; and it must not be forgotten that the festival was celebrated on a Tuesday, and that Hoke-tuesday was the Tuesday in the second week after Easter.

Various conjectures have been offered respecting the etymology of the word *Hoke*. Lambard imagined it to be a corruption of *Hucxtyde*, the time of scorning or mocking. Bryant prefers *Hock*, *high*, apprehending that Hockday means no more than a high day; but Mr. Denne, in a very learned memoir upon this subject, in the Archælogia, vol. vii. p. 244, &c. adopts Spelman's derivation of the term from the German *Hocken*, in reference to the custom of *binding*, which was formerly practised by the women upon the men on Hoke-tuesday; though he considers this as metaphorical, and that the German word for marriage, or a wedding feast, *Hochzeit*, is more immediately applicable, because it was at the wedding feast of a Danish lord, with the daughter of a Saxon nobleman, that Hardicanute died suddenly, not without suspicion of being poisoned.

Mr. Denne, after all his researches, pronounces the origin of the festival to be uncertain; and without entering into a protracted discussion of that point, it shall only be observed, that in noticing the Coventry celebration of this Festival, that gentleman has contented himself with the brief account given by Dugdale, (p. 166, History of Warwickshire, original edition,) without consulting the circumstantial detail in Laneham's Letter; and therefore it may not be amiss briefly to investigate the evidence contained in that narrative, together with the few remaining documents respecting its observance in Coventry, with a view to a better understanding of the nature of the exhibition, and then consider how that evidence applies to the different conjectures concerning the origin of this Festival, enumerated by Mr. Denne, more particularly that which he prefers.

By an extract from the MS. Annals of Coventry, anno 1416, it appears that the first exhibition of the Hox-tuesday Play or Show was made that year; and the Recorder, in his speech to Queen Elizabeth, in 1565, relates that "certen open shewes" in memorial of the destruction of the Danes, are "kepte to this daye". In Laneham's Letter, "the good harted men of Couentree" state that "their olld storiall sheaw [was] for pastime woont too bee plaid in [their] Cittee yerely".

The antiquity of the Hox-tuesday exhibition in Coventry is sufficiently shewn by the above extracts, and even with the scanty particulars we possess of this "storiall sheaw", there will be little difficulty in deciding betwixt Warton and Mr. Denne, the former of whom asserts that "it by no means resembled a play," the latter, arguing upon Dugdale's words only, pronounces, that it was a *play*, its matter *historical* and *civil*, and therefore forms an exception to Warton's remark that *religious* subjects were exclusively represented in the reign of Edward IV.

Laneham explicitly says that the performance was "expressed in actionz & rymez after their maner", and Percy, in his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, so far from doubting its resemblance to a play, scruples not to designate it an "historical play," and a model of a complete drama, yet presuming on Laneham's silence (for there is no other foundation for such an assumption), he considers the performance before Elizabeth "to have been without recitation or rhimes, and reduced to meer dumb shew." In support of this opinion he proceeds to imagine that in consequence of the play having been discontinued in Coventry, the players were not able to recover the old rhimes, nor, from the suddenness [b] of the occasion, to procure new ones: whereas it has been shewn that the performance had been omitted only eight years at the most, and in the ensuing year was revived as heretofore; from whence it may very fairly be inferred that the exhibition at Kenilworth Castle was similar to what had been yearly played in Coventry, though probably with increased splendour, and a greater number of performers.

The only information we gain from the Companies' Books respecting the Hox-tuesday Festival, is, that they furnished certain *harnessed men* on that occasion, probably to take a part in the performance; for Laneham's "wicked wit" so impels him to burlesque, that his descriptions must be received with caution.

The origin of this festival, as deduced from the Coventry documents, remains to be considered; and, even in this limited search, the same degree of uncertainty and contradiction prevails, as in the more extended survey by Mr. Denne.

[b] There was a second representation at Kenilworth, on the Tuesday following, so that a further opportunity was afforded of providing the necessary rhimes, had they been really wanting at the first exhibition.

The Recorder's Speech to Queen Elizabeth refers it to the overthrow of the Danes in the last conflict with the Saxons. In Laneham's Letter it is expressly declared to be in memory of the massacre of the Danes on St. Brice's night, whereas in the order of Common Council, 1591, the Play is thus designated—*The Conquest of the Danes, or the History of King Edward the Confessor*, refer ing its origin to a subsequent period, and evidently connecting two distinct events, viz. the Massacre of the Danes, Anno 1002, and the death of Hardacnut in 1042; for this latter event must be the commencement and ground-work of the History of Edward the Confessor. Thus we see that the Coventry tradition, though it never loses sight of the overthrow of the Danes, (but in fact makes it the subject of their play,) yet with that want of precision which seems to be inseparable from the subject, involves its origin in a certain degree of doubt and obscurity, by embracing two seperate and distinct circumstances, though both tending to the same end. Mr. Denne's preference of the death of Hardacnut as the probable origin of Hok-tyde and Hox-tuesday, is neither advanced or injured materially by the the above investigation, for although the Massacre of the Danes is interwoven with each account, still the circumstantial and most authoritative title of the Hox Tuesday Play, preserved in the order of Common Council, must be considered as referring it to the death of Hardacnut, notwithstanding what appears in Laneham's Letter:—The reader will make his own decision.

The following extracts shew that in Coventry, the time of the Year called Hock-tide was in conformity with the opinions of those who place it in or about Easter Week, which militates strongly against Laneham's "St. Brice's night."

9 Edw. IV.—"Expeñs for seynt [c] marie q[a]rt?

"On *hogh tuysday* at the hall, in bred xviij[d]" ale, meat, &c. &c.

Diers' Accounts.

1519.—This year was a sodane ffloud on the whitsun weeke and it was called the wett Soñer that men might not knowe the Soñer frõ Wynter but by the greene leaves for it begañe on *Hocks Tuesday* and contynued every day somewhat tyll Crystmas after.

MS. Annals of Coventry, written in 1588 *(Butler's Roll.)*

c The other quarters are called Midsummer, Martinmas, and Midwinter.

Appendix

OF

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS.

LONDON.

"RICHARD MARLOW was Lord Maior [of London] in 1409 in whose Maioraltie there was a Play at Skinners Hall, which lasted eight dayes (saith Stow) to heare which most of the greatest Estates of England were present. The subject of the play was the sacred Scriptures, from the creation of the world: They call this, *Corpus Christi* Play in my countrey which I have seene acted at Preston, and Lancaster, and last of all at Kendall, in the beginning of the raigne of King James; for which the Townesmen were sore troubled; and upon good reasons the play finally supprest, not onely there, but in all other Townes of the kingdome." *Weever's Funeral Monuments, Folio.*—p. 405.

YORK.

The feast and pageantry of the play of *Corpus Christi*, anciently annually exhibited in *York*, translated from an entry in an old register belonging to the City.—Fol. 269.

"*In the name of God, Amen.* Whereas for a long course of time the artificers and tradesmen of the city of *York* have, at their own expence, acted plays; and particularly a certain sumptuous play, exhibited in several pageants, wherein the history of the old and new testament in divers places of the said city, in the feast of *Corporis Christi*, by a solemn procession is represented, in reverence to the sacrament of the body of Christ. Beginning first at the great gates of the priory of the holy *Trinity* in *York*, and so going in procession to and into the

Cathedral Church of the same; and afterwards to the hospital of St. *Leonard*, in *York*, leaving the aforesaid sacrament in that place. Proceeded [preceded] by a vast number of lighted torches, and a great multitude of priests in their proper habits, and followed by the mayor and citizens, with a prodigious croud of the populace attending. And whereas, upon this, a certain very religious father, *William Melton*, of the order of the *friars minors*, professor of holy pageantry, and a most famous preacher of the word of God, coming to this city, in several sermons recommended the aforesaid play to the people; affirming that it was good in it self and very commendable so to do. Yet also said that the citizens of the said city, and other foreigners coming to the said feast, had greatly disgraced the play by revellings, drunkenness, shouts, songs and other insolencies, little regarding the divine offices of the said day. And what is to be lamented they loose, for that reason, the indulgencies, by the holy father pope *Urban IV.*[d] in this part graciously conceded. Those, *viz.* faithful in *Christ*, who attended at morning service at the said feast in the church where it was celebrated an hundred days; those at the mass the same; those also, who came to the first vespers of the said feast, the like an hundred days; the same in the second; to those also, who were at the first, third, sixth, and ninth completory offices, for every hour of those forty days; to those also, who attended service on the octaves of the said feast, at mattins or vespers, mass or the aforesaid hours; an hundred days for every day of the said octaves, as in the holy canons, for this end made, is more fully contained; and therefore, as it seemed most wholesome to the said father *William*, the people of the city were inclined that the play should be played on one day, and the procession on another, so that the people might attend divine service at the churches on the said feast for the indulgences aforesaid.

"Wherefore *Peter Buckey*, mayor of this city of *York*, [10 Aldermen 2 Sheriffs and 21 others whose names are mentioned] were met in the council chamber of the said city the 6th. day of *June*, in the year of grace 1426, and of the reign of king *Henry VI.* after the conquest of England, the fourth, and by the said wholesome exhortations and admonitions of the said father *William* being incited, that it is no crime, nor can it offend God, *if good be converted into better.*

"Therefore, having diligently considered of the premisses, they gave their express and unanimous consent that the cause aforesaid should be published to the whole city in the common hall of the same, and having their consent that the premisses should be better reformed. Upon which the aforesaid mayor convened

[d] He instituted the Feast of Corpus Christi, in 1264.

the citizens together in the said hall the tenth day of the month aforesaid and the same year, and made proclamation in a solemn manner, where it was ordained by the common assent that this solemn play of *Corpus Christi*, should be played every year on the vigil of the said feast, and that the procession should be made constantly on the day of the said feast, so that all people being in the said city might have leisure to attend devoutly the mattins, vespers, and the other hours of the said feast, and be made partakers of the indulgences, in that part, by the said *Roman* pope *Urban* the fourth most graciously granted and confirmed."

The order of the Pageants of the Play of *Corpus Christi*, in the time of the mayoralty of *William Alne*, in the third year of the reign of King *Henry V.* anno 1415, compiled by *Roger Burton*, town clerk:—

Tanners. God the father almighty, creating and forming the heavens, angels, and archangels; Lucifer and the angels that fell with him into hell.

Plasterers. God the father, in his own substance, creating the earth, and all which is therein, in the space of five days.

Carde-makers. God the father creating Adam of the slime of the earth, and making Eve of the rib, and inspiring them with the spirit of life.

Fullers. God prohibiting Adam and Eve from eating of the tree of life.

Coupers. Adam and Eve with a tree betwixt them; the serpent deceiving them with apples, God speaking to them and cursing the serpent, and an angel with a sword driving them out of paradise.

Armourers. Adam and Eve, an angel with a spade and a distaff assigning them labour.

Gaunters. Abel and Cain killing sacrifices.

Shipwrights. God foretelling Noah to make an ark of light wood.

Fyshmongers, Pessyners, Mariners. Noah in the ark with his wife and three children and divers animals.

P'chemyners, Bukbynders. Abraham sacrificing his son Isaac; a ram, bush, and angel.

Hosyers. Moyses exalting the serpent in the wilderness, king Pharao, eight Jews, admiring and expecting.

Spicers. Mary and a doctor declaring the sayings of the prophets about the future birth of Christ; an angel saluting her. Mary saluting Elizabeth.

Peuterers, Founders. Mary, Joseph willing to put her away, an angel speaking to them that they should go to Bedlem.

Tylers. Mary, Joseph, a midwife, the child born lying in a manger betwixt an ox and an ass, and the angel speaking to the shepherds.

Chaundelers. The shepherds speaking by turns; the star in the east, an angel giving joy to the shepherds that a child was born.

Goldsmithes, Drfeures. The three kings coming from the east, Herod asking them about the child Christ; with the son of Herod, two councellors and a messenger.

Gold-beters, Bone-makers. Mary with the child and the star above and the three kings offering gifts.

Masons. Mary with the child, Joseph, Anna, and a nurse with young pigeons, Symeon receiving the child in his arms, and two sons of Symeon.

Marashals. Mary with the child and Joseph flying into Egypt, by an angel's telling them.

Girdellers, Naylers, Salwters. Herod commanding the children to be slain: four souldiers with lances, two councellors of the king, and four women lamenting the slaughter of them.

Sporiers, Lorymers. The doctors, the child Jesus sitting in the temple in the midst of them, hearing them and asking them questions. Four Jews, Mary, and Joseph seeking him and finding him in the temple.

Barbers. Jesus, John the baptist baptizing him, and two angels helping them.

Tyntmers. Jesus, Mary, bridegroom and bride, master of the household with his family with six water-pots, where water is turned into wine.

Smythes, Fevers. Jesus upon the pinnacle of the temple; Satan tempting with stones; two angels administering, &c.

C[orvisors.] Peter, James and John; Jesus ascending into the mountain and transfiguring himself before them. Moyses and Elias appearing, and a voice speaking from a cloud.

Clennagers. Simon the leper asking Jesus if he would eat with him. Two disciples, Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Jesus, and wiping them with her hair.

Plummers, Patten-makers. Jesus, two apostles, the woman taken in adultery, four Jews accusing her.

Pouch-makers, Botillers, Cap-makers. Lazarus in the sepulchre, Mary Magdalene, Martha, and two Jews admiring.

Testment-makers, Skynners. Jesus upon an ass with its foal; twelve apostles following Jesus, six rich and six poor men, with eight boys with branches of palm trees, constantly saying blessed, &c. and Zacheus ascending into a sycamore tree.

Cuttellers, Blade-smythes, Shethers, Scalers, Bukle-makers, Horners. Pylat, Cayphas, two soldiers, three Jews, Judas selling Jesus.

Bakers, Waterleders. The supper of the Lord and paschal Lamb, twelve apostles; Jesus tied about with a linen towel, washing their feet. The institution

of the sacrament of the body of Christ in the new law and communion of the apostles.

Cordwaners. Pylat, Cayphas, Annas, forty armed soldiers, Malchas, Peter, James, John, Jesus, and Judas kissing and betraying him.

Bolwers, Fletchers. Jesus, Annas, Cayphas, and four Jews, striking and bastinadoing Christ. Peter, the woman accusing him, and Malchas.

Tapisers, Couchers. Jesus, Pylat, Annas, Cayphas, two councellors and four Jews accusing Christ.

Littesters. Herod, two councellors, four soldiers, Jesus and three Jews.

Cukes, Water-leders. Pylat, Annas, Cayphas, two Jews, and Judas carrying from them thirty pieces of silver.

Sauce-makers. Judas hanging himself.

Bilners, Tiel-makers, Ropers, Cevers, Turners, Hayresters, Bollers. Jesus, Pilat, Cayphas, Annas, six soldiers, carrying spears and ensigns, and other four leading Jesus from Herod, desiring Barabas to be released and Jesus to be crucified, and then binding and scourging him, putting a crown of thorns upon his head; three soldiers casting lots for the vesture of Jesus.

Shermen. Jesus covered with blood bearing his cross towards mount Calvary, Simon Sereneus, &c.

Pynners, Lateners, Paynters. The cross, Jesus extended upon it on the earth; four Jews scourging him with whips, and afterwards erecting the cross with Jesus upon it on mount Calvery.

Bouchers, Pulterers. The cross, two thieves crucified and Jesus suspended betwixt them; Mary the mother of Jesus, John, Mary, James and Salome; a soldier with a lance, and a servant with a sponge. Pilat, Annas, Cayphas, a centurion, Joseph of Arimathea and Nichodemus taking him down and laying him in the sepulchre.

Satellers, Sellers, Glasiers. Jesus destroying hell, twelve good and twelve evil spirits.

Carpenters, Joyners. The centurion declaring to Pylat, Cayphas and Annas, with other Jews, the signs appearing on the death of Jesus.

Cartwrights, Carvers, Sawyers. Jesus rising from the sepulchre, four soldiers armed and three Maries lamenting; Pilat, Cayphas, and Annas: a young man clothed in white, sitting in the sepulchre and talking to the women.

Wyndrawers.[e] Jesus, Mary, Mary Magdalene with spices.

Broggers, Wool-pakkers Wadsmen. Jesus, Luke and Cleophas in the form of travellors.

Escriviners, Lumners, Questors, Dubbors. Jesus, Peter, John, James, Philip and other apostles, Thomas feeling the wounds of Jesus.

Taillyoures. Mary, John the evangelist, two angels, and eleven apostles; Jesus ascending before them and four angels bearing a cloud.

Potters. Mary, two angels, eleven apostles, the holy ghost descending upon them and four Jews admiring.

Drapers. Jesus, Mary, Gabriel with two angels, two virgins and three Jews of the kindred of Mary; eight apostles and two devils.

Lynwevers. Four apostles bearing the shrine of Mary, Fergus hanging upon it with two other Jews and one angel.

Wevers of wollen. Mary ascending with a multitude of angels, eight apostles with Thomas preaching in the desert.

Hostilers. Mary, and Jesus crowning of her with a great number of angels.

Werers. Jesus, Mary; twelve apostles, four angels with trumpets, and four with a lance with two scourges, four good and four bad spirits and six devils.

[e] Lege Wiredrawers.

A proclamation for the play of *Corpus Christi*, made in the vigil of the feast :—

" Oiez, &c. We comand of þe kynges behalve and þe mayor and þe shirefs of þis citee þat no man go armed in þis citee with swerdes ne with carlikkaxes, ne none othir defences in disturbaunce of þe kynges pees and þe play or hynderyng of the procession of *Corpore Christi*, and þat þai leve thaire wapens in þare ines [save] knyghtes and sqwyres of wirship þat awe have swerdes born eftir þame of payne of forfature of þaire wapen and imprisonment of þaire bodys. And þat men þat brynges furth pagentȝ þat þai play at the places þat is assigned þerfore and nowre elles of þe payne of the forfatture to be raysed þat is ordayned, þerfore þat ys to say xl^{s}. And þat men of craftes and all othir men þat fyndes torches þat þai come furth in array and in þe manners as it has been used and custumed before þis time, [none] haveyng wapen saveyn keepers of þe pagentz, end officers þat ar keepers of þe pees of payne of forfatture of þair fraunchis and þaire bodyes to prison : and all manner of craftmen þat bringeth furthe ther pageantȝ in order and course by good players well arrayed and openly spekyng upon payn of lesyng of C^{s}. to be payde to the chambre without any pardon.

" And that every player þat shall play be redy in his pagiaunt at convenyant tyme, that is to say, at the betwixt iv and v of the cloke in the mornynge, and then all oþer pageantȝ forst folowyng ilken oþer as your course is without tarieng. Subpena for. camere vj^{s} viij^{d}."

Extract out of an order for the regulation of the play of *Corpus Christi*; dated the 7th day of June, 1417. William Bowes major. E. regist. f. 167, 170 :

" It is ordained that for the convenience of the citeiȝens and of all strangers coming to the said feast, that all the pageants of the play called *Corpus Christi play* should be brought forth in order by the artificers of the said city ; and to begin to play first at the gates of the pryory of the holy trinity in Mikel-gate, next at the door of Robert Harpham, next at the door of the late John Gyseburn, next at Skelder-gate-hend and North-strete-hend, next at the end of Conynge-strete towards Castel-gate, next at the end of Jubir-gate, next at the door of Henry Wyman deceased, in Conyng-strete, then at the common hall at the end of Conyng-strete, then at the door of Adam del Brygs deceased, in Stayne-gate, then at the end of Stayn-gate at the Minster-gates, then at the end of Girdler-gate in Peter-gate, and lastly upon the Pavement, &c."

Drake's History of York, Appendix 29, 32.

N. B. The original extracts appear to have been made from the Corporation Records by Robert Burton, the Town Clerk.

LEEDS.

17 (Fo. MSS.) *Corpus Christi Playe* in antique English Verse, by Tho. Cutler and Rich. Nandyke;[f] take a Taste of the Poetry in the *Crucifixio Christi:*

[g] 1. Sir knyghtis take heed hydir in hye
3. Zee wootte your self als wele as I
5. Has geven dome þat þis doote schall dye
7. Sen we are comen to Calvarie
2. This dede on dergh we may noght drawe
4. How lordis and leders of our lawe
6. Sir all þare counsaile wele we knawe
8. Lat ilke man helpe now as hym awe.

Some of the Trades themselves in the several scenes are antiquated, as are the names of others,—Bowers and Fletchers, Wefferes, Cappers (Hatters added in a later hand), Estrereners, Gyrdillers, Tyllethekkers, Spicers, Shavers, Parchmynners, Shermen and Wynedrawers [Wyredrawers] were of old, but Merceres added at the end as modern, Richard the Father of Bishop Morton, of Durham, being the first of that Trade, at least in these northern parts of England.

Don. Hen. Fairfax Arm. *Thoresby's Leeds.*

DUBLIN.

"The glovers were to represent Adam and Eve, an angel bearing a sword before them; the *corrisees* [h] (perhaps *curriers)* Cain and Abel, with an altar, and their offering; the mariners and vintners, Noah and the persons in the ark, apparelled in the habits of carpenters and *salmon takers;* the weavers personated Abraham and Isaac, with their offering and altar; the smiths, Pharaoh with his host; the skinners, *the camel with the children of Israel;* the goldsmiths were to find the king of Cullen (Cologne); the *hoopers,* the shepherds, with an angel

[f] Or Naudyke. This MS. afterwards came into the possession of Horace Walpole.

[g] The arrangement of these lines appears to be erroneous, and a different one is suggested by the marginal numbers added.

[h] Corvisers.

singing Gloria, &c.; Corpus Christi gild, Christ in his passion, with the Marys and angels; the taylors, Pilate with his fellowship, and his *wife cloathed accordingly;* the barbers, Anna and Caiphas; the fishers, the apostles; the merchants, the prophets; and the butchers, the *tormentors*. Tho. Fitzgerald, E. of Kildare Lord lieut. was invited, Christmas 1528, to a new play, every day, wherein the taylors acted Adam and Eve; the shoemakers Crispin and Crispianus; the vintners, Bacchus and his story; the Carpenters, the story of Joseph and Mary; the smiths, that of Vulcan; and the bakers, that of Ceres. The priors of St. John of Jerusalem, Trinity and All Saints, caused to be represented on the same stage two plays, Christ's Passion and the death of the Apostles. The play of the Nine Worthies was also acted on Corpus Christi day 1541."

Harris's History of Dublin, pp. 143, 145, 147.

EDINBURGH.

In the record of the city of Edinburgh, under the 12th of October, 1554, there is the following entry:—

"The provest, baillies, and counsale, ordains the thesaurer Robert Grahame to content and pay to Walter Bynryng, the sowme of £v, for the making of the play ground, and painting of the handsenye[i] and the playeris's facis, quhill beand payit providand always, that the said Walter mak the play geir underwrittin furth cumand to the towne, quhen thai haif ado therewith, quhilkis he has now ressavit; viz. viij playhattis, an kingis crown, ane myter, and fulis hude, ane foxis, ane pair angell-wingis, twa angel hair, ane chaplet of tryumphe."

Dalzel's Scotish Poems, 16th century, p. 32.

LISBON.

Extract of a letter from Mickle, the Translator of Camoens' "Lusiad," to Thomas Caldecott, Esq. of New College, dated 15th August, 1780, and printed in the "Literary Panorama" for March, 1809:—

"Besides the opera [at Lisbon], there is another playhouse, where they act what they call Precipios, i. e. Scripture Histories, in the genuine taste, I presume, of the old mysteries and interludes acted three or four centuries ago in England. I cannot help giving you some account of the principal one, which I saw performed by puppets, before a crowded and pretty genteel audience. When the curtain drew up, the first scene presented a view of the clouds, where a figure,

[i] An Ensign or Standard.

like a Chinese Mandarin, seated in a chair, was like an arbiter or judge, placed between St. Michael and Satan. Satan accuses Michael, and Michael scolds like an oyster wench, and at last kicks Satan on the head, and tumbles him down out of sight, telling him to go to hell for his impudence. The Chinese-like figure then walks about the stage, and repeating the words of the Latin Bible, creates the world. When he orders the sun to govern the day, a lanthorn, with a round glass in it, circles over the stage, which is darkened; in like manner the moon and stars appear; the waters next appear, with fishes' heads jumping through them; but when land animals are to be made, real sheep and dogs are produced through the trap-doors, one of which latter entertained the audience by barking at the sheep, and was like to have been rude to his supposed maker, had not a leg projected from behind the scene given him a kick, which sent him off howling. Adam is next made, he rises through the stage, walks about a while, lies down to sleep, and the Chinese figure pulls Eve out of his side, and gives them their charges: these two are quite naked, but much smaller, and no way to be compared, in excellence, to the puppets of the opera. The next scene presents an orange grove, a serpent climbs a tree, talks to Eve, and gives her an orange out of his teeth, which she takes, and tempts Adam. The next scene presents the Mandarin figure calling upon Adam, who appears with his spouse in their fig leaves; they are condemned, and the serpent, who till now walked erect, falls flat on his belly; Adam and Eve are now presented in sheep-skins, he with a spade, and she with a distaff; Adam laments dolefully, but Eve comforts him, and puts him in mind that they were to beget children. Cain and Abel next appear, offer sacrifices, and Cain kills his brother, and kicks him sadly; the Mandarin figure condemns Cain, and ascends the clouds; the mouth of hell then appears, like the jaws of a great dragon, amid smoke and lightning, vomits up three devils, one of them with a wooden leg; these take a dance round Cain, and are very jocular; one of them invites him to hell to drink a dish of brimstone coffee, another asks him to make up a party at whist; Cain snarls, and they tumble him and themselves together headlong into the squib-vomiting mouth.

"The next scene presents the Mandarin figure ordering Noah to build an ark; Noah sends his servant to engage a carpenter,—but where do you think?—why, to Lisbon, to Antonio de ———, somewhat—the King of Portugal's head ship-carpenter (and the name of the present gentleman, of that office, is always introduced). The scene now represents the streets and night-humours of modern Lisbon. The messenger, who is in no hurry, stops at different taverns (things

like our London chandler-shops, where the *canaille* drink; for, except one French and one English house or two, there is not any thing like a decent tavern in all Lisbon), and every where he attempts to be the buffoon; e. g. he meets a dog, the dog barks at him, and he lectures the dog on the vices of his master, whose ill manners, he says, he is imitating; then he meets an Irishwoman, with a squalling child in her arms; he asks his way to the carpenter's, and she asks him to tell her her way home again; both complain of the child's bawling, and he gives her a bit of sweetmeat he had just picked up in a corner to put in its mouth —but this joke ends dirtily. After meeting and talking with a variety of street-walkers, he arrives at the carpenter's house, which discovers a scene like the inside of an English village-wheelwright's shop and kitchen; the carpenter bargains hard, and is willing to take Noah's note of hand, but his wife wants ready money, and insists upon paying her debts before she is drowned. And how much do you owe? says Noah's messenger, I have got a trifle about me at your service.—So much—No more?—Yes, so much more!—Joseph—Maria—Jesus—no more!—Yes, ten thousand moidores will do.—Ha, ha, then go and get them, for I have not ten half farthings for you!—And never was a low joke better relished in the days of Gammer Gurton's Needle, than I was witness to the reception of this, from a crowded audience that would have done no disgrace to the pits of either Drury-lane or Covent-Garden. After this comes the story of Holofernes, the birth of Christ, and the massacre of the children of Bethlehem; with which the piece closes. Besides the few I have mentioned, innumerable are the low allusions of this performance. Before the massacre of Bethlehem, Herod is represented in the dress of a Turkish Moor, the old enemy of Portugal, walking about in great agitation; he lies down on a couch to sleep; the dragon jaws of hell again appear, vomiting devils, and flashes of fire; the devils make a merry dance to music round the sleeping tyrant, and often whisper him: they vanish, he awakes, and gives his order, &c. and with a very curious puppet representation of grim-whiskered soldiers, tearing children from their mothers and killing them, and the mothers scratching the soldiers, the admirable piece was at last brought to a conclusion.

"W. J. MICKLE."

Pageants

ON

PARTICULAR OCCASIONS.

HAVING concluded our enquiries into the Corpus Christi and Hox Tuesday, or in other words, the regular and permanent exhibition of Pageants; there is another branch of this History yet to be treated of, and which must necessarily be investigated, to compleat the account of these performances in Coventry. The Pageants represented on occasion of various Royal Visits to the City, are here alluded to—a subject slightly noticed in the Dissertation, at page 4, note *f*, but which, from its interest and curiosity, will be found well worthy a distinct consideration.

The MS. Annals of the City state, that the King and his Nobles, in 1416, took great delight in the Pageants which were exhibited. The occasion of their being at Coventry was a Parliament at that time held in the Priory; but as no particulars of the Pageants are given, it seems probable that they were not contrived for that particular occasion, but were only the customary Mysteries.

A copious and minute account of a splendid series of Pageants prepared for the reception of Queen Margaret, and exhibited when she visited the City in 1455, is contained in the curious and valuable ancient Leet Book, of which the following is a faithful copy. The King and Queen came to Coventry, and lay at the Priory, on which occasion 50 Marks was given to the Queen:—

" Mđ that the demene & rule that was made & shewed un to oure sovãyn lady the quene at Coventre was thus as it foloweth yn wrytyng that is for to sey furst at Bablake there was made a Jesse[i] on the yate right well [arayed] and there were shewed too speeches as foloweth. Fol. 168 b

YSAY
Pñces most excellent born of blode riall
Chosen quene of this region conforte to all hus
Wordes to yor magnificens woll I say thus
I Ysay replete w$^{t\cdot}$ þ^{e} spirite ꝑpheticall
like as mankynde was gladdid by the birght of Jhũs
So shall þis empyre joy the birthe of yo$^{r\cdot}$ bodye
The knyghtly curage of pñce Edward all men shall joy to se

JEREMY
Empc̃e quene pñces excellent in on ꝑson all iij
I Jeremy þ^{e} ꝑphete trew þies wordes of you wyll say
this reme shall joye þe blessyd tyme of yo$^{r\cdot}$ nativyte
the mellyflue mekenes of yo$^{r\cdot}$ ꝑson shall put all wo away
unto the rote of Jesse rote likkyn you well I may
the fragrante floure sprongen of you shall so encrece & spredde
that alle the world yn ich ꝑty shall cherisshe hym love & drede

Afturward with inne the yate at the est yende of the chirche was sette a pagent right well arayed & þ'rin was shewed ij speches on of seynt Edward & the other of Seynt John Evñg? as foloweth

S. EDWARD
Moder of mekenes dame m̃garete pñces most excellent Fol. 169
I kyng Edward welcũ you w^{t} affeccion righ cordiall
Certefying to yor highnes mekely myn entent
for the wele of the kyng & you hertely ꝑy I shall
and for pñce Edward my gostly chylde whom I love p?ncipall
P'ying the John evangelist my helpe þ̃in to be
On that condicion right humbly I gif þis ryng to the.

JOHN EVANG'
Holy Edward crownyd kyng brothur in Virginyte
my power playnly I wyll ꝑfer thi wyll to amplifye
Most excellent pñces of Wymen mortall yor bedeman wyll I be

[i] The figure of Jesse, as the root or stock from which Christ descended.

I knowe yor lyf so vertuus þat god is plesyd therby
the birth of you un to þis reme shall cause grete melody
the vertu^{o} voyce of pñce Edward shall dayly well encrese
Seynt Edward his godfader & I shall py þ'fore dowtelesse

Afturward the Cundit yn the Smythforde strete was right well arayed & there was shewed iiij speches of iiij cardynall v̊tues as foloweth

RIGHWESNES I Righwesnes that causeth treuth to be had
mekely as a maydyn my langage wyll I make
And welcũ you pñces right cherefull & glad
With you wyll I be dwellyng & nev̊ you forsake

TEMP^{A}UNCE I tempaunce to plese you warly wyll wake
And welcome you as most worthy to my power
besechyng youre highnes þis langage to take
I wyll feythfully defende you from all mañ^{r} daunger

STRENGH I strengh þ^{e} iij vertewe wyll playnly appere
clerely to conseyve yo yn yor estate most riall
And welcũ yowe pñces gladly wth chere
for to do þ^{t} mowe plece you aray ws we shall

P^{r}DENCE I p̊dence of the iiij vertewes highest in degre
Welcũ you dame m̃garete quene crowned of this lande
the blessyd babe þ^{t} ye have born prynce Edward is he
thurrowe whom pece & t̊nquilite shall take þis reme on hand
we shall endowe both you & hym clerely to understonde
we shall psve you psonally & nev̊^{r} fro you dissev̊^{r}
doute not pñces most excellent we iiij shall do our dev̊.

Afturward at the Crosse yn the croschepyng there were ordeyned div̊se angels sensyng a high on the crosse & there ranne out wyne at mony places along whyle. Fol. 169 b

Afturward betwix the seyde crosse & the cundit beneþ^{e} that were sette ix pagentes right well arayed & yn ev̊y pagent was shewed a speche of the ix conqueroures yn the furst was shewed of Hector as foloweth

HECTOR Most pleasaunt pñces recordid þ^{t} may be
I hector of troy þ^{t} am chefe conquerour
lowly wyll obey yowe & knele on my kne
and welcom yowe tendurly to yor honoure
to this conabull^{k} citie the pñces chaumber^{l}
whome ye bare yn youre bosom joy to þis lande
thro whome in ꝑsperite þis empyre shall stand

In the secunde pagent was shewed a speche of Alex^{r} as foloweth

ALEX^{r} I alexander þ^{t} for chyvalry berithe þ^{e} balle
Most curi^{9}^{m} in conquest thro þ^{e} world am y named
Welcũ yowe pñces as quene ꝑncipall
but I hayls^{n} you ryght hendly I wer wurthy to be blamyd
The noblest pñce þ^{t} is born whome fortune hath famyd
is yor sovẽyn lorde herry empo^{r} & kyng
unto whom mekely I wyll be obeying

In the thridde pagent was shewed of Josue as foloweth

JOSUE I Josue þ^{t} in hebrewe reyn ꝑncipall
to whome þ^{t} all egipte was fayne to inclyne
wyll abey to yor plesur pñces most riall
as to the heghest lady þ^{t} I can ymagyne
to the plesure of yor ꝑsone I wyll put me to pyne
As a knyght for his lady boldly to fight
Yf any man of curage wold bid you unright.

[k] CONABULL—renowned. Connan, Sax. to know; i. e. knowable.

[l] As London was called the *Kings Chamber*, and Bristol the *Queens Chamber*, so in numerous instances Coventry is termed the *Princes Chamber*. Sir John Throgmorton, the Recorder of Coventry, in his oration to Queen Elizabeth, in 1565, says that "this auncient Citie hath bine of longe tyme called the princes Chamber the iij^{de} Citie of youre Realme."

[m] CURI9—courageaux, Fr. courageous.

[n] HAYLS—*halse*, embrace, salute. *See Note p.* 480, *Vol.* ii. *Tyrwhitt's Chaucer.*

"I halse hym hendlich, as I hys frende were".—*P. Plowman, fo.* xxij.

In the fourthe pagent was shewed of david as foloweth

DAVID

I David þ^t^ in deyntes have led all my dayes
That slowe þ^e^ lyon & goly^o^ thorowe goddys myght
Will obey to you lady youre þsone þ^a^yse
And welcũ you curtesly as a kynd knyght
for the love of yor lege lorde herry that hight
And yor laudabull lyfe that vertuus ev^r^ hath be
lady most lufly ye be welcũ to þis cite

In the fyth pagent was shewed a speche of Judas as foloweth Fol. 170

JUDAS

I Judas þ^t^ yn Jure am callid the belle
In knyghthode & conquest have I no pere
Wyll obey to you pñces ell^9^ did I not well
And tendurly welcũ you yn my manere
Yo^r^ own sovãyn lorde & kynge is þsent here
Whome god for his godeness þserve in good helthe
and ende you w^t^ worship to this landys welthe.

In the sixt pagent was shewed a speche of Arthur^p^ as foloweth

ARTHUR

I Arthur kynge crownyd & conquerour
That yn this lande reyned right rially
With dedes of armes I slowe the Empõ^r^
The tribute of this ryche reme I made downe to ly
Ihit^q^ unto [you] lady obey I mekely
as youre sure s9vande plesur to yor highnesse
for the most plesaunt pñces mortal þ^t^ es.

In the vij pagent was shewed a speche of Charles as foloweth

CHARLES

I charles chefe cheftan of þ^e^ reme of f^a^unce
And empõ^r^ of grete rome made by eleccion

^o^ GOLY—Goliah.

^q^ IHIT—yet.

^p^ It'm to have owght the pagent at the comyng of the quene that ys the parell to þe pagent and harneste men and þe harnes to [harnes] hem wyth and a cote armyr for *arture* & a crest w^t^ iij grevyvyes.....xvij^s^ xj^d^ ob.

Smiths' Accounts, 1455.

Which put mony paynyms to pyne & penaunce
The holy relikes of criste I had in possession
Jhit lady to yor highnes to cause dieu refeccion
Worshipfully I welcũ you after yor magnificens
Yf my s$\overset{o}{v}$ice mowe plese you I wyll put to my diligens

In the viij Pagent was shewed a speche of Julius as foloweth

JULIUS I Julius cesar so$\overset{o}{v}$ayn of knyghthode
and emp$\tilde{o}^{r}$ of mortall men most hegh & myghty
Welcũ you pñces most benynge & gode
Of quenes þ^{t} byn crowned so high non knowe I
the same blessyd blossom þ^{t} spronge of yor body
Shall succede me in worship I wyll it be so
all the landis olyve^{r} shall obey hym un to.

In the ix Pagent was shewed a speche of Godfride as foloweth

GODFRIDE I Godfride of Bollayn kynge of Jerusalem
Weryng þ^{e} thorny crowne yn worshyp of Jhũ
Which in battayle have no pere under the sone beme
Yhit lady right lowely I loute unto yowe
So excellent a pñces stedefast & trewe
knowe I none c̃^{i}stened as you in your estate
Jhũ for hys m̃ci incresse & not abate.

Afturward & last the Cundit yn the Crossechepyng was arayed right well with as mony virgyns as myght be þ^{r}uppon and there was made a grete Dragon & seynt Marg̃et sleyng hym be myracull & there was shewed full well this speche that foloweth Fol. 170 b

S. MARGARET Most notabull pñces of weymen erthle
Dame M$^{\overset{a}{r}}$garete þe chefe myrthe of þis empyre
ye be hertely welcũ to þis cyte
To the plesure of yor highnes I wyll sette my desyre
Bothe nature & gentilnes doth me require
Seth we be both of one name to shewe you kyndnes

^{r} OLYVE—alive, living.

Wherfore by my power ye shall have no distresse
I shall p^{a}y to the p^{i}nce þ^{t} is endeles
To socour you w^{t} solas of his high g̃^{a}ce
He wyll here my peticion this is doutles
for I wrought all my lyff þ^{t} his wyll wase
Therfore lady when ye be yn any dredefull cace
Calle on me boldly þ^{r} of I p^{a}y you
And trist to me feythefully I woll do þ^{t} may pay^{s} yow.

There is a memorandum of 25s. "payde to John Wedurby of leyces^{r} for þ^{e} ꝑvicion & makyng of these ꝑmisses of the welcomyng of our sov̄ayn lady the quene & for his laboure inne & out".

Itm̃ payde for a tonne Wyne that was ȝeven to our sov̄ayn lorde the kynge ..... viij^{li} iiij^{d}
Itm̃ for ij gilt cuppes of the which on was ȝeven to our sov̄ayn lady the quene & the other is kepte for our lorde the p̄nce unto his comyng the whiche cuppes weyen xljiii$^{oz.}$ qrt & dī prc̃e le oz. iiij^{s} viij^{d} Sm^{a} x^{li} vij^{s} j^{d} and ov^{r} that for giltyng of the fete of þ^{e} seid cuppes with inne iij^{s} Sm^{a} tot: x^{li} x^{s} j^{d}
Itm̃ the meyre ȝafe by the avyse of his counsell to dv̄se ꝑsones of the kynges house ..... xx^{s}
Itm̃ he payde for a glasse of rose wat^{r} that my lord Ryvers had ..ij^{s}

The Leet Book also states that beside the 50 Marks presented to the Queen, 50 Marks more were levied, ready to be given the Prince at his next coming to Coventry; from which circumstance, and the preparation of a cup for him, as well as the speeches in several of the Pageants, it seems the Prince was expected to have accompanied the Queen.

In 1460, one hundred pounds and a Cup was given by the City to Edw. IV. "to his welcome to his Cite of Coventre from the felde yn the North".

The MS. Annals are silent as to the reception of the King, and the Leet Book makes no mention of Pageants or any particular ceremony used on the occasion; whence it may be conjectured that there was no display at the *City* charge, but the Companies were called upon to exhibit, as is evident from the

[s] PAY—apay Fr. satisfy, content.

following items, extracted from the Smith's Accounts, being the only Company whose Books of this period are preserved, except the Dyers, who had no Pageant:—

1460.—Itm̃ for the havyng owght of the pagent when the pryns came yn brede and ale and to Samson wythe hys iij knyghtys and to an harper .....iij^{s} vj^{d}

It for golde for Samsons garments and poyntys .....iij^{d}

The subject of this Pageant is sufficiently obvious; the speech, perhaps, was never attempted to be preserved. We may imagine, from the usual tenor of these complimentary Shews, that Samson promised to use his strength in supporting the claim and *just right* of Edward IV. to his newly-acquired sovereignty; but a more substantial service had been rendered by the City, in sending one hundred men to him "to þ^{e} felde yn the North".

A detailed and particular account of Prince Edward's visit to Coventry, April 28, 1474, is preserved in the City Leet Book before mentioned:—

Receavynge Prynce Edwarde. Fol. 221

Memorand that the xxviij^{ti} day of the Moneth of Aprill cam oure lorde prince Edward out of walys so by Warrewyk to Coventre and the Meire & his brethern w^{t} the divs of Cominalte of the seide Citie clothed in Grene and Blewe metyng oure seid lorde Prince upon horsbake by yonde the Newe Crosse in a Chare beyng of Age of iij yere ther welcomyng hym to hys Chaumb'r and 3eyving hym ther a C mark in a gilt coppe of xv Ounces w^{t} a kerchyff of Plesaunce upon the seid Coppe And then comyng in to [the] Citie and at Babulake 3ate ther ordeyned a stacion therin beyng Kyng Richard w^{t} xiij other arrayed lyke as Dukes Markes Erles Vicouns and Barons & lordis w^{t} mynstrallcy of the Wayts of the Cite and kyng Richard ther havyng this speche her ffolowyng

REX RIC'US
Welcom̃ full high and nobull Prince : to us right speciall
To this yor chaumb'r : so called of Antiquite
The þsens of yor noble þson : reioyseth yor harts all
We all mowe blesse the tyme : of yor Nativite
The right lyne of the Royall blode : ys now as itt schulde be
Wherfore god of his goodnes : þsve you in bodily helth
To us and yor tenauntes [t] here : þpetuall ioy : and to all londis welth

[t] Tenants of the Prince (as Duke of Cornwall) within his Manor of Cheylsmore, in Coventry.

Also at the Condite afore Richard Braytoft[u] the Elder a nother stacion w^t. iij P^ȝriarkes ther stondyng upon the seid Condite w^t Jacobus xij sonnes w^t mynstralcy of harpe and Dowsemeris & ther Rennyng Wyne in oñ place and there on of the seid Pa^ȝriarkes havyng this speche under writtyn.

O God most glorious : grounder and gyver of all g̃^ace
To us iij P^ȝriarkes thou þmysed : as scriptur maketh rehersall
That of our stok lynially : schuld þcede and passe
A prynce of most nobull blode : and kyngs sonne Impiall
The wich was full fylled in god : and nowe referre itt we schall
Unto this nobull prynce : that is here þsent
wich entreth to this his Chaumb'r : as prynce full reȝvent.

Also at the Brodeyate a Pagiont and seint Edward beyng therin w^t x a states with hym w^t mynstralcy of harpe & lute and Kyng Edward havyng this speche next foloyng

Nobull prynce Edward my Cossyn & my Knyght
And ȝry prynce of our lyne comyn dissent
I seint Edward have pursued for yor faders Impiall right Fol. 221 b
Wherof he was excludid : by full furiȝ intent
Unto this yor. Chaumb'r : as prynce full excellent
Ye be right Welcom : thanked be Crist of his sonde
For þ^t that was oures : is now in yor faders hande.

Also at the Crosse in the Croschepyng were iij þphets standyng at the Crosse Seynsyng and upon the Crosse a boven were Childer of Issarell syngyng and castyng out Whete obles[v] & ffloures and iiij pypis rennyng wyne.

Also in the Croschepyng a fore the Panyer[w] a Pagent and iij Kyngs of Colen therin w^t other dȝvers arraied and ij knyghts armed w^t mynstralsy of small pypis and on of the Kyngs havyng this speche under writtyn

O splendent creator : in all our speculacion
More bryghter then Phebus : excedent all lyȝt

[u] The Mayor's Father.

[v] WHETE OBLES—cakes sweetened with honey; Fr. *oublie.*

[w] An Inn very near to the Cross.

We thre Kyngs beseche the : wt. meke mediacion
Specially to ꝑsve : this nobull prynce ꝑi knyght
wich by Influens of thy grace : ꝓcedeth a right
Of on of us thre lynnyally we fynde
His nobull Moder quene Eliȝabeth ys comyn of ꝑt kynde.

Also upon the Condite in the Crosse Chepyng was seint George armed and kynges doughtr knelyng a fore hym wt. a lambe and the fader & the moder beyng in a toure a boven beholdyng seint George savyng their doughtr from the dragon And the Condite rennyng wyne in iiij placeȝ and mynstralcy of Orgonpleyinge and seint George havyng this speche under wryttyn.

O myghty god our all socour celestiall
Wich ꝑis Reyme hast geven to dower
To thi moder and to me George ꝓteccion ꝑpetuall
hit to defende from Enimies ffere & nere
And as this mayden defended was here
Bi thy g̃ce from this Dragon devour
So lorde ꝑsve this noble prynce : and ev be his socour.

By the following entry in the Smiths' Accounts for this year, it appears that the Companies were called upon on this occasion; but we merely ascertain the fact, without any insight into the nature and extent of their performances :—

1474.—Expñ for bryngyng furth the pagent a ȝenst the comyng of the Quene & the prince .....vijd

The MS. Annals record that Prince Edward came first to Coventry this year, and had 100 Marks and a Cup given him;—that his House was kept at Cheylsmore,—and that the Prince was one of the Godfathers to the Mayor's child. He certainly remained in the City until the 3d of May, on which day the Mayor and his brethren took an oath of allegiance and fidelity to him, the form of which is preserved in the valuable Leet Book so often referred to.

Prince Arthur.

The next Exhibition of this nature was for the reception of Prince Arthur, in 1498, the following particulars of which are derived from the same authority :—

Mđ that this ȝer the wensday the xvij day of Octob^{r} A^{o} xiiij^{o} R H vij P^{n}ce Arthur the ffirst begoton son of kyng henr^{y} the vijth then beyng of þ^{e} age of xij ȝers & mor cam first to Coventr^{y} & ther lay in þ^{e} p^{r}ory fro Wensday unto þ^{e} munday next suying at which tyme he removed towards London aȝenst whos comyng was þe sponstrete ȝayte garnysshed with the ix worthys and kyng Arthur then havyng this spech as foloweth. Fol. 281 b

Hayle Prynce roiall most amyable in sight
Whom the Court e^{t}nall thurgh p^{r}dent gov^{r}naunce
Hath chosen to be egual ons to me in myght
To sprede our name Arthur & acts to Av^{a}ñce
And of meanys victorious to have such habund^{a}unce
That no fals treito^{r} ne cruell tirrant
Shall in eny wyse make profeȝ to your lande
And rebelles all falce quarels schall eschewe
Thurgh þ^{e} fere of Pallas that favoreth yor lynage
And all outward enmyes laboreth to subdue
To make thẽ to do to yewe as to me dyd homage
Welcome therfor the solace & comfort of my olde age
Prince pereless Arthur Icome^{x} of noble ꝑgeny
To me & to yeur Chamb^{r} with all þis hole companye

And at the turnyng into þ^{e} crosschepyng befor Mr Thrũptons durr stode þ^{e} barkers paiant well appareld in which was the Quene of fortune with dyv^{r}s other virgyns which quene has þis spech folowyng

I am dame fortune quene called full expedient
To Emprours & P^{r}nces prelats with other moo
As Cesar Hecto^{r} & Sabins most excellent
Scipio exalted Nausica & Emilianus also
Valerius also Marchus with sapient Cicero
E and^{y} noble men brevely the truth to conclude all
My favo^{r} verily had as storys maketh rehersall
With oute whom sithen non playnly can prospe^{r}

^{x} YCOME—come; the Saxon prefix Y being added.

^{y} E AND—aye and.

That in þis muitable lyfe ar nowe ꝑcedyng
I am come thurgh love trust me intiere
To be with yewe & yours evirmor enduryng
Prynce most unto my pleasur? of all þt. ar nowe reynyng
Wherfor my nowne hert & best beloved treasur
Welcome to þis your chamb'r of whom ye be inh?itur

And the crosse[z] in the croschepyng was garnysshed & wyne ther rennyng and angels sensyng & syngyng with Orgayns and other melody &c. And at þe Cundyt ther was seynt George kyllyng the dragon and seynt George had this speche folowyng

O most so?aign lorde be d?yne ꝑvission to be
The ruler of cruell Mars & kyng Insupable
Ye reioyce my corage trustyng hit to se
That named am George yor patron favorable
To whom ye ar & ev? shalbe so acceptable
That in felde or cite wher so ever ye rayne
Shall I nevr fayle yewe thus is my purpose playne
To protect yor. magnyficence myself I shall endever
In all thyngs that yor. highnes shall concerne
Mor tenderly then I ȝit did ever
Kyng Duke yerle lorde also berne [baron]
As ye be myn assistence in ꝑcesse shall lerne
Which thurgh yor vertue most amorous knyght
I owe to yor ꝑsence be due & very right
Like wyse as þis lady be grace I defended
That thurgh myschaunce chosen was to dye
Fro thys foule s?pent whom I sor wonded
So ye in distresse ꝑserve ever woll I
Fro all parell and wyked veleny
That shuld yor. noble ꝑsone in eny wyse distrayn
Which welcome is to þis yor chamb'r & to me right fayn

[z] In the Chamberlains' Accounts, made up Anno 1499, are these items:—
It' p'd for settyng of the posts in þe croschepyng when þe kyng was here, in gret ..... ijs
It' for takyng down of þe same posts a geyn ..... xd
It' for pavyng in þe cros chepyng ther as þe posts stode, of viij yards ..... viijd

And this Balet was song at þe Crosse

Vivat le prynce Arthur.

Ryall p̃nce Arthur
Welcome newe tresur — to þis yor cite
W^{t} all our hole Cur[a]

Sithen in vertue der
Lorde ye have no per — as all we may see
Of yor age tend'r

Cunyng requyred
All hath con$\overset{o}{t}$ved — yor intelligence
And so receyved

That yngland all playn
Maye nowe be right fayn — to their extollence
Yewe longe to remayn

Syng we þ$\overset{o}{f}$oll all
Also let us call — that he yewe defend
To God immortall

In this breve[b] beyng
Your astate supportyng — to yor lyfes yend
And vertue ay spredyng

In 1510, Henry VIII. and his Queen visited Coventry; upon which occasion three Pageants were set forth, viz.: one at Jordan Well, with nine orders of Angels; one at Broad Gate, with divers beautiful Damsels; and another at the Cross, with a goodly Stage Play. This brief account, preserved in the MS. Annals of the City, is the only notice that has been discovered; the Leet Book has no entry upon the subject.

[a] CUR—coeur, Fr. heart, introduced for the rhyme.

[b] BREVE—brief.

In 1525, the Lady Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII. came to Coventry, and lay at the Priory, where she remained two days. The Mercers' Pageant was gallantly trimmed, and stood in Cross Cheaping. At her going away, one hundred Marks and a Kerchief was given her. This account from the MS. Annals is all that has occurred on the subject, except the following item in the Trinity Gild Accounts, which shews that the public bodies of the City, religious, probably, as well as civil, were assembled to do her honour:—

1525.—It̃ p'd for beryng the Crosse at my ladie p̃nces comyng ..... iiij^{d}

The ensuing items are from the Chamberlains' Accounts:—

1525.—It̃ p'd for taking down the heads & the q^{a}rte$\tilde{r}$s from the 3ates ..... iiij^{d}

Expens' for makyng of the pav̄ments & for cariag of mukk against my ladie princessis comyng ..... xxxix^{s} ij^{d} ob

The next and last Royal Visit to the City, attended with a display of Pageants, was that of Queen Elizabeth, in 1565, a particular account of which is recorded in the MS. Annals;[c] but, to our present purpose, a short extract will suffice. It relates that she was honourably received by the Mayor and Citizens with many fair Shews and Pageants, viz.: "Att Saint John's Church stood the Tanners pageant, att the Cross the Drapers pageant, at Littell parke street End the Smiths[d] pageant, in Much parke street End the Wavers pageant".

[c] The entire account is printed in "Nichols' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."

[d] A charge occurs in the Books of this Company for painting and gilding many Pageant Vehicles on the above occasion.

Song I.

The treble

As I out rode this enderes night of thre ioli shepp^ds

I saw a sight & all a bowle there fold a star shone bright

They sange terli terlow ://: So mer....eli the shepp^ds there

pipes can blowe ther pipes can blowe so mer.....eli the shepp^ds

The tenore So mereli the shepp^ds y^er pipes can blow y^er pipes c̃a blow.

As I out rode this end eres night of thre ioli shep

pardes I saw a sight I sawe a sig...hte and all a...boute

there fold a star shone bright a star shone bright

the sange terli ter...low ://: So me....reli the

shepp^ds ther pipes can blow. ://: ://:

ther pipes can blowe

The basse

As I out rode this enders night of thre ioli sheppardes

I saw a sighte and all a...bout there fold a star shone bright

They sange terli ter.....lowe ://: So me....reli the

sheppardes there pipes c̃a blow ther pipes c̃a blowe

So me....reli the sheppards ther pipes can blow. ://:

Song II.

The treble

Lully Lu...lla y^w. Lit...tell tyne childe by by lully

lul...lay y^w. Lit....tell tyne child by by Lu....lly Lullay.

O Sist...ers too how may we do for to preserve y^is.

day this pore yong....ling for whom we do singe

by by Lully Lul..lay. He...rod the King in his

rag.....ing char...ged he hath this day his men of

might in his owne sight all yonge chil.....dren to slay.

That wo is me pore child for thee and ever

morne and say for thi parting nether say no^r singe

by by Lul...ly Lul...lay

The tenor

Lully Lul....la y^w. Lit..tell tyne child by by Lul...ly

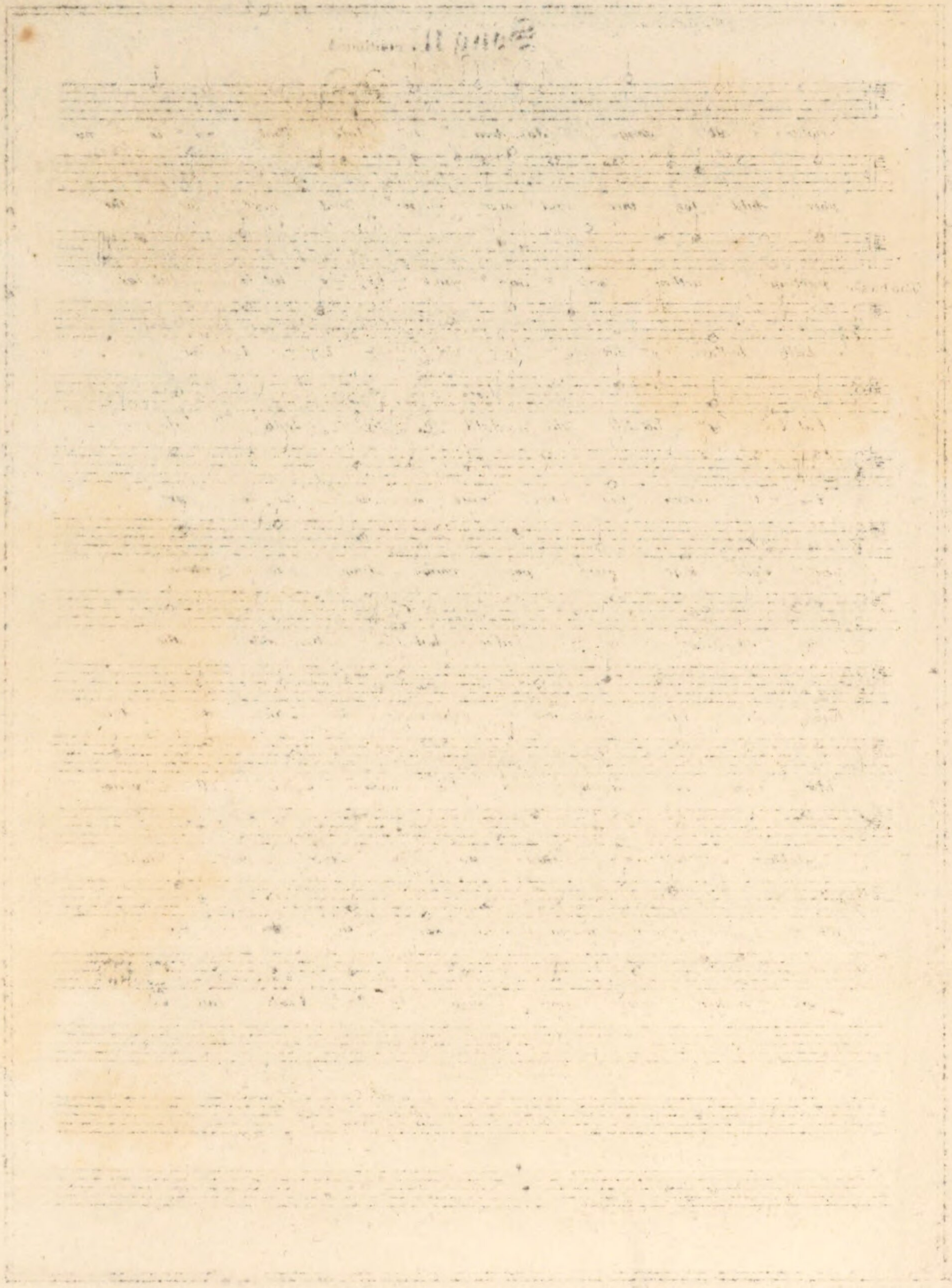
Lul...lay y^w. Littell tyne child by by Lu...lly Lullay

O sis.....ters two how may we do for to pres.....erve y^w. day

this pore yong..linge for whom we do singe by by Lully

Lullay. Herode the King in his rag....inge char...ged

he hath this day his men of might in his owne



Song II. continued.

sighte all yonge chil..dren to slaie That wo is me

pore child for thee and ever morne and saye for thi

The basse partinge nether saie nor singe by by lul li lul lay

Lully Lullaye y^w Lit tell tyne child by by Lul lie

Lul lay y^w Lit tell tyne child by by Lully Lul----

lay O sisters two howe maie we do for to pre

serve this daye oure pore yonge.....linge for whom

wee do singe by by Lullie Lul..lay Her.....ode the

Kinge in his rag....inge char...ged he hathe this daie

hys men of mighte in his owne sighte all yonge

children to slaye That wo is mee pore child

for thee and ever morne and say for thi par

tinge nether saie nor singe by by Lully Lul.....lay

Song III.

The treble

Doune from heaven from heaven so hie of ang.....eles yr. came

a great com.....painie wt. mirthe and ioy and great so

lem.....nitie the sange terly ter.....Low ://:

The tenor Doune from heaven from heaven so hie of ang.....eles yr.

came a great com.....pani ://: wt. mirthe and ioy and

gret solem.....nitie solem.....nitie they sang terli ter.....low so

mereli the shepdi ther pipes ca blow ://:

The basse Doune from heaven from heve so hie of ang....eles ther cam

a gret com.....pani wt. mirthe and ioy and gret solem.....nitie

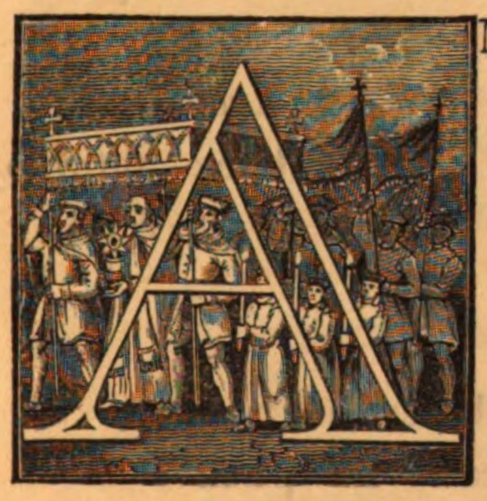
the sang terli ter...low ://: so me.....reli the shep.....pards yr.

pipes ca blow ://: ://: yr. pipes ca blow

Processions

ON

CORPUS CHRISTI DAY, MIDSUMMER AND St. PETER'S EVES.



AMONGST the Public Shews of Coventry, an important and interesting portion was the annual Processions on Corpus Christi Day, the Eve of St. John, and St. Peter's Eve; upon which latter occasions the curious ceremony of setting out "the Watch" was practised. Frequent allusions have been made, in the preceding Dissertation, to the Procession which followed the exhibition of the Pageants on Corpus Christi Day, upon which festival the practice of performing Religious Mysteries was so customary, as to cause them to be generally known by the appellation of Corpus Christi Plays.

The Pageants at Coventry, though not exclusively confined to that occasion, formed (as has been shewn) a very prominent feature in the spectacles of this splendid festival of our Catholic ancestors; but to render the picture complete, some account of the Procession itself seems requisite, and the following details are chiefly collected from the same authentic and original documents which have supplied the principal materials for illustrating the History of the City Pageants.

The Processions on the Eves of St. John and St. Peter form so natural a continuation of this history of ancient civic display, and embrace so much curious

subject matter, that the writer could not be satisfied in witholding from the public the elucidations which his researches have furnished of national customs long discontinued and now almost forgotten.

Corpus Christi Procession.

The Procession upon Corpus Christi Day (which preceded, and must be carefully distinguished from, the exhibition of Pageants), was conducted with no small degree of splendour, and considered an object of sufficient importance to call for express Acts of Leet, enforcing and regulating the observance and management of it. These, together with the ensuing copious extracts from the Gild Accounts, and those of the City Companies, will serve to explain somewhat minutely the manner and circumstances of the Procession.

1444.—Pur le Ridyng on Corpus xp̃i day and for Watche on midsomer even The furst craft[e] Fysshers and cokes,—Baxters and milners,—Bochers,—Whittawers & Glovers,—Pynners tylers and Wrightes,—Skynners,—Barkers, — Corvysers, — Smythes,—Wevers,—Wirdrawers, — Cardemakers Sadelers Peyntours and Masons,—Gurdelers,—Taylours Walkers and Sherman,—Deysters,—Drapers,[f]—Mercers.

Leet Book.

1446.—Et quod le Ruydyng in festo Corporis Christi fiat prout ex antiquo tempore conserverint. *Idem.*

TRINITY GILD ACCOUNTS.

1459.—Exp's fact̃ in festo Corp̃is xp̃i viz ad iiij^or Torchberers ad portend̃ iiij^or Tortices ꝑ tempus ꝑcessional̃ circa le Cowpe in quo continet̃ corp̃ dñi.....xij^d

1468.—Itm̃ to iiij torcheberers in festo corp̃is xp̃i .....xij^d

Itm̃ to Johĩ Exale for peyntyng iiij judasys[g].....iij^s

[e] It appears from this list, that the junior Company went first, and was followed by the others, in inverted order as to seniority, until the Mercers' or *eldest* Company closed their Procession.

[f] Amongst the Rules of this Company, gathered from old and ancient Books in 1534, is one directing that the Masters "shall se the prossecyon kept on Corpus cristy daye the pageond & play well broughte fforth w^t harnessyng of men & the watche kept at mydsomer on seynt peturs nyght w^t oder & good Custumes whiche have byn usyd in old tyme to the lawde & prays of god & ꝑ^e worschypp of thys Cytte".

[g] These will be subsequently explained.

1468.—Itm̃ eidm̃ for xij pensells to þ^e same .....xij^d
Itm̃ solĩ for clothe for the pensells .....ij^d ob.
1518.—It̃ p'd for beryng of the crosse on seynt Georg's day, Ascension, pentecost & *corpus xp̄i day*.....xvj^d
It̃ to ij child^n for beryng þe candulstikks on þe same dayes ....iiij^d
It̃ for beryng þe lan̄tn on corp̄is xp̄i day.....ij^d

CORPUS CHRISTI AND ST. NICHOLAS'S GILD.

The following articles appear in an Inventory of Jewels and Plate belonging to this Gild, 9th Henry VII. (1493):—

A crucifix with mary & John sylv̄ & gilt lakyng a deadem weyng iiij^xx unc̃.
ij candulstikks of sylver ꝑty gilt & enameled weyng xlviij unc̃.
A chales of sylver all gilt w^t a sonne to bere in þ^e sac̃^a ment^h &c liij unc̃ qr̄t & đ q^a rt'
A crosstaff of sylv̄ w^t myturs & chales g^a ven on hit xliij unc̃.
A baner of Velvet wrought w^t golde
A canope of silk brodured w^t gold w^t ij sidez of the same for þ^e ꝑcession on corpus xpi day.

In the Inventory of 1502 occurs:—"Itm̃ a Canapy to bere ov^r the Sac^a ment of clothe of tyssew browght in by maist^r Thomas grove".

1501.—payd for a Crown of sylv^r & gyld for the mare on Corp^s xpi day..xliij^s ix^d
1511.—payd for a baner made new of blew Damaske for the Damaske & for the fryng steynyng [painting] w^t the gold & all colorus þ^t long therto & warkemanshype.....lix^s vj^d

[h] In an Inventory of Plate, &c. in Boys's Sandwich, we find "Item a monstrant for to bere yn the sacrament on corpus Christi day yn processyon, with a chayn of sylver ther to of lij ounces".—The author infers that *Monstrant* is from the Fr. *Monstrer, to shew;* and he might have added, that *monstre* in that language is used for a shew-glass.—"Item a palle of blewe bawdekyn of Venise gold for corpus Christi".

Amongst the goods belonging to Fountain's Abbey, were as follows:—
"One *Manse*, with a rib of St. Lawrence, of silver gilt, weight 44 ounces, at 4s. 4d. per ounce.... £9 10s. 8d.
"One *Manse*, for *Corpus Christi Day*, silver and gilt, weight 106 ounces, at ibid ..... £22 19s. 4d.
New Monasticon, vol. v. *p.* 290

1512.—payd for a new canapy for to bere ov̄ the Sac[a]ment furst for vij yerds & đ of tessew.....vij[li] x[s]
It̄ for ix unc̃ of sylke for fryng .....ix[s]
It̄ for v yerds & đ of tewke to lyne hyt w[t] .....v[s] vj[d]
It̄ payd for þ[e] makyng the frynge .....xxij[d]
It̄ payd for makyng the canapy.....iij[s] iij[d]
It̄ payd for careg̃ of the tessew fro london & for the cost & charge of the haloyng of a sewt of vestments.....v[s] iiij[d]
1539.—It' a tap̄ to burne in the Sacramẽt [i] on corpus xp̄i day .....iiij[d]
It̄ iiij new torches .....iiij[s] vj[d]

Corpus xp̄i even & the day.

Itm̃ in spice caks [k].....viij[d]
loof bred .....xij[d]
a cester good ale.....xviij[d]
Cheise.....vj[d]
xx chekynse.....xx[d]
whit caks.....ij[s]
peny bred for the appostells vj[d]
half a Cest[r] peny ale [l].....vj[d]
vj loynes of mutton.....iij[s] ij[d]
beiff for the appostles .....viij[d]
to the marie for hir gloves and wag̃s .....ij[s]
for beryng the Crosse & candelsticks the even & the day.....viij[d]
to the M[r] to offer .....xij[d]
Katyñe & mg̃et .....iiij[d]
the marie to offer.....j[d]
viij virgyns.....viij[d]
to gabriell for beryng the lilly [m] .....iiij[d]
to James & Thomas of Inde.....viij[d]
to x other apostells [n].....xx[d]
iiij burgesses for beryng the Canape ov[r] the Sacramẽt .....xvj[d]
vj childern for beryng vj torches by the Sacramẽt .....ix[d]
iiij men to bere the iiij gret torches .....viij[d]
a womã to help in the kechyn .....ij[d]

Sm[a] xxij[s] vj[d]

[i] Perhaps this was unconnected with the Corpus Christi *Procession*, for in 1543 occurs—" It' a tap' to bryne all nyght befor the sacrame't.....iiij[d]"

[k] In 1543, all the charges for edibles, wine, &c. are entered under the head—" The brekefast".

[l] In 1540 occurs a charge for—red wyne viij[d]—claret wyne xij[d]—muskedell xvj[d]—mamsey viij[d]—seke vj[d]

[m] 1540.—for makyng the lilly iij[s] iiij[d] 1541.—to gabryel for beryng the *light* iiij[d]—[Is this an error of the scribe for "*lilly*," or did this character bear a torch as well as the symbol of the Salutation ?]
1544.—a new coat & a peir of hoes for Gabriell iij[s] iiij[d].

[n] 1541.—xij torches of wax for the apostles. 1543.—mendyng the Torches cases iij[d]

1540.—Russhes to strewe the Churche .....iij^{d}
to the Cooke for dressyng brekefast .....iiij^{d}
for Colls .....iiij^{d} to the porter .....ij^{d}
the hier of potts .....iij^{d} to the weits.....iij^{s} iiij^{d}
1541.—for beryng the crosse .....iiij^{d}
1542.—To P$^{?}$ists & Clerks at seynt nicholas Church [Corpus xp̄i day]..xij^{d}

DYER'S ACCOUNTS.

1470.—peid for torches beryn on corpus xp̄i day & for iiij newe hatts ..viij^{d}
1494.—It$^{?}$ p'd for whayssyng of the surplisus for the torche berars [on Corpus Christi day].....ij^{d}
1517.—It$^{?}$ p'd to iiij men for beryng of the iiij judasses upon corp$^{?}$s xp̄i daye and ther brekfast..... .....xvj^{d}
1519.—It$^{?}$ p'd to the iiij torchberers for beryng of iiij Judaces byfor the Sacrament.....viij^{d} p'd for ther brekfast .....viij^{d}
1520.—It$^{?}$ payd to iiij men for beryng of the iiij torchis uppon Corp$^{?}$s xp̄i daye byfor the sacurment .....viij^{d}
p'd for iiij new Judaces .....v^{s} iiij^{d}

CAPPERS' ACCOUNTS.

1502.—It$^{?}$ p'd to þe menestrell at corpus xī day.....xij^{d}
1542.—pãmettes for corpus chrysti day .....xiij^{d}
1543.—p'd to þ^{e} mynstrell for corp^{s} christiday & mydsomer nyght ....ij^{s} viij^{d}

CARPENTERS' ACCOUNTS.

1448.—It$^{?}$ sol$^{?}$ in festo Corp$^{?}$is xp̄i ꝑ torcheberers .....iiij^{d}
It$^{?}$ sol$^{?}$ ꝑ fachynge de torches .....ob.
1450.—It$^{?}$ payd for wax & makyng þe torches ayenst Corpus xp̄i tyde vj^{s} viij^{d}
It$^{?}$ p'd for beryng of torches viij^{d} It$^{?}$ p'd to j mynstrall .....xiij^{d}
1452.—Expens' for Torches xxx lī wax p$^{?}$ lī v^{d} ob .....xiij^{s} ix^{d}
It$^{?}$ j dos' Resen.....xxj^{d} makyng [the torches]....iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Exspeñs on Corp$^{?}$s xp̄i tyde midsom^{r} nyȝt & seynt pet$^{?}$ nyȝt in bred ale torcheberers to þ^{e} menstrells & all oþ^{r} þings .....v^{s} v^{d} ob
1453.—It$^{?}$ payd to þ^{e} mynstrell on Corp$^{?}$s day xp̄i .....xviij^{d}
1454.—It$^{?}$ for beryng of torches on Corp$^{?}$s xp̄i day .....iij^{d}
1455.—It$^{?}$ in expeñs for our corpus xp̄i day at herr' barbors .....iiij^{d}
payde to herre merynton for the torches .....iij^{s} vj^{d}

1456.—It' spendyd on Tȳnyte sonday at Robt Masons for to ged^{r} þ^{e} crafte to ged^{r} aȝeinst Corpus day xp̄i at þ^{e} meyrs comaundemẽt ....viij^{d}
Itm̃ payd to j harp .....iij^{d}
1476.—Itm̃ payde ffor ij torchys .....xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
1487.—It' on Corp^{s} xp̄i day torcheberers & there dyn .....iij^{d}
It' to the mynstrell and his dyñ^{r} .....ij^{s} ij^{d}
1516.- Itm̃ payed for þe breakfast at Morris on Corpus xp̄i day afore þe going to the ꝓcession.....xij^{d}
1532.—It' p'd to ij mynstrells for Corpys cryst day .....xij^{d}

SMITHS' ACCOUNTS.

1449.—It̃ payd þe torch berrers..viij^{d} It̃ spend in ale uppõ þem..j^{d}
1454.—spendyd on þe mynstrell on corpus xp̄i even & day.....xij^{d}
1474.—Itm̃ for horsbred to the horsses .....iij^{d}
1476.—It̃ ffor hors hyre to Herod .....iij^{d}
1477.—It̃ payd to iiij torchberers on corpus xp̄i day.....iiij^{d}
1489.—It̃ payd ffor Aroddes[o] garment peynttyng þ^{t} he went a ꝓssasyon in..xx^{d}
1505.—It' payd for beryng off ij pencelis on ꝓsacyon .....ij^{d}
1554.—p'd to the mynstrells for prosesyon and pageants.....ij^{s} vj^{d}

It now remains to apply the preceding extracts in illustration of the Corpus Christi Procession in Coventry; and an item in the Carpenters' Accounts for 1516, as well as others in the Accounts of the Dyers' Company, together with a note [i] at foot of the extracts from those of the Corpus Christi Gild, shew the time of the Procession to have been after breakfast, by which we must understand an early hour, agreeable to the manners of that period, because the performance of the Pageants afterwards would necessarily occupy a large portion of the day.

The order of the Companies in this Procession is shewn in the first Leet extract; and from various documents[p] it appears that the members rode, in the

[o] By this and the preceding item in 1476, it appears that the person who played the character of Herod in the Smiths' Pageant, joined the Procession, being the only instance of this nature that has been observed.

[p] "Also whatte man that benne chosen Masterus as for the here [year] thei schullen bye an honest lyverye that the Crafte may be honestly clothed ynne aȝenest Corpus x'pi daye in worschippe of god & owre mayre & the Cite". *Rules of the Tilers' Company.*

See also the account of the Pinners and Needlers' Pageant, p. 78.

The Drapers Livery was a gown of "Sad pewke, tawne, otherells off browne blewe whych be nere of one color & an hode, the on halfe tawne or pewke & the other halfe skarlet".

proper liveries of their respective Companies, preceded [q] by their Torch-bearers and the Rules of the Smiths' Company (vide page 22,) shew that the Journeymen also went in the Procession, though probably on foot.

From the Dyers' Accounts we learn that their Torches were borne by men wearing surplises and [straw] hats, as was customary on similar occasions; but whether this was the case with the remaining Companies is not so clear: it also appears that they went before the Sacrament; and as the situation of this Company in the Order of Leet for the Procession, was last, excepting the Drapers and Mercers, it seems reasonable to infer that the Laity preceded the Host, and that the various orders and denominations of Religious persons followed it. In this case the Mercers, being the senior Company, would have the honourable situation of immediately preceding the Host, and this circumstance seems at once to account for the order in which the Companies went, and materially to strengthen the above conjecture.

The members of the Trinity Gild joined the Procession, adding to its embellishments, their Torches decorated with Banners, and the consecrated Host (or Corpus Christi) suitably displayed in a gilt or gold cup, attended by their Priests, with the processional Crucifix; and it appears by the extracts from the Gild Accounts, that there were occasional variations and additions, for instance, in 1518, a charge occurs for children bearing candlesticks, and also for carrying a lantern, though the latter might possibly be substituted for the accustomed torches. The Fraternity of the Corpus Christi Gild, as might be expected, exerted themselves in an especial manner to do honour to this solemnity, and had in the Procession—four great Torches, their processional Crucifix and Candlesticks, and a gilt Chalice, " w[t] a sonne[r] to bere in þ[e] sacrament".

The Trinity Gild, in all probability, had a Canopy borne over the Host, although no specific mention of it occurs in their Accounts; but upon the Procession of the Corpus Christi Gild upon this occasion, it is evident that a Canopy was carried over " the Sacrament" by four Burgesses, and we have a particular description of two Canopies belonging to the Gild, one of Silk embroidered with Gold, having the " two sides" of the same materials, the other of (Gold) Tissue.

[q] " Also hit is ordeynede that ev'y man that is of the lyverey shall come on corp' x'pi daye and honestlych to goo wth the processyon and sewe [Fr. *suivre*, follow] her torches ev'y man up' the peyne of a pound of waxe wythoute he have a resonabull excusation." *Rules of the Tilers' Company.*

[r] The centre of this sun, it is probable, was occupied by a piece of glass, through which the consecrated Host might be seen."

Six children, bearing as many Torches, went on each side the Sacrament, and in the Procession were personated, the Virgin Mary (whose Crown of Silver Gilt cost 43s. 9d.), the Angel Gabriel bearing " the lilly", Twelve Apostles with Torches of Wax, amongst whom James and Thomas " of Inde" received double wages, and eight Virgins, with St. Katherine and St. Margaret.[s]

A Breakfast was provided for the members of the Gild, and a part, at least, of the actors, viz. the Apostles; and it seems also that they attended St. Nicholas Church before or after the Procession, (most probably the former), when the Master of the Gild offered 12d., and the Virgin Mary 1d. The Church was strewed with Rushes on the occasion.

Whether the velvet and gold, or blue damask Banner (vide last item, p. 161), formed a part of this display, does not appear; but it seems reasonable to suppose the Fraternity would avail themselves of such an accession to the splendour of their Exhibition, and it is certain they added Music, as a charge of 3s. 4d. occurs for the Waits.

[s] The following particulars of two annual Processions anciently made at Leicester, on Whit Monday, present several remarkable coincidences with this of the Corpus Christi Gild, and also throw some light upon the subject. They are extracted from " Nichols's History of Leicestershire," vol. i.:—

" From this Church (St. Mary de Castra) there used to be a solemn Procession every Whit-monday to St. Margaret's Church, in which the image of the Virgin Mary was carried under a canopy borne by four persons, with a minstrel, harp, or other music, and twelve persons representing the *twelve Apostles*, each of which had the name of the Apostle whom he represented written on parchment fixed on his bonnet, and fourteen persons bearing banners, with the virgins in the parish attending. When they came to St. Margaret's, among other oblations, there were two pair of gloves, whereof one is said to be for God, the other for St. Thomas of India. [p 305]

Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts.

1493.—Paid at Whitsuntide, for bread, ale, flesh, &c. for the *apostles* and others.....3s. 4d. [p 309]

1516.—Paid (inter alia) to the *twelve apostles*, and the bearers of banners and other things done at Pentecost.....5s. 8d. [p 311]

The like solemn Procession was made from St. Martin's Church to St. Margaret's, on Whit-monday, by the Vicar, Priests, and Clerks, and the parishioners, viz. the image of St. Martin was carried thither, attended by twelve persons with banners, representing the twelve Apostles, each person having the name of the Apostle whom he represented inscribed on parchment. But there was no music or any canopy carried over St. Martin. [p 591]

Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Martin.

There were twelve Apostles, fourteen banner bearers, and four that bear up the canopy, each allowed 1d. for their labour in 1523; but other years they used to be feasted, and nothing given them. They had music went before the Mary, sometimes a harp, for which was paid 4d. 1507,—2d. 1523,—a minstrel 2d. 1515. With these, virgins went in procession, spent on them 3d. 1518.

N.B. The Apostles names were wrote on parchment, for which paid 4d. 1499. They used to spend in points 1d.; tucking-strings and whipcord 2d.; gloves, two pair, 2d., which 1505, are said to be for God and *St. Thomas of India*, but there were three pair for two ladds and St. Thomas of India 1515." [p 569]

The Mayor t, Aldermen, and attendants, together with the Civil and Religious Fraternities, and all the Ecclesiastics of the City, would of course join the Procession, and as we find that the chief character (Herod) belonging to the Smiths' Pageant, was provided with a horse for the occasion, it may be concluded that this was the case with some of the other Companies whose records have perished. Various entries point out that the principal persons rode. Banners, Crosses, Torches, and Minstrelsy u, served to enrich and enliven the Procession, which, on account of the fame acquired by the City for celebrating this great solemnity, we may conceive was conducted with a degree of splendour and spirit adequate to the high character it had obtained; for, notwithstanding the Pageants occupy the fore-ground in the picture which has been handed down to us of the observance of this festival in Coventry, we may fairly conjecture that the Procession was equally splendid and effective v.

The interest excited by the Corpus Christi Shews, and the many Royal and Noble personages who came to witness them, has already been noticed; but the following account of a serious affray which happened on Corpus Christi Eve,

t An Order of Leet was made, 25th Hen. VIII. that the Sheriffs should provide Liveries for the City servants, viz.:—"at corpus christi tide such sleves & Jacketts as they have been wont to gyve"; and under the head *Minstrels and Wayts*, will be found another Order, 1441, for Liveries to the City Musicians, against this Festival.

u Various items of charges for Minstrelsy occur in the extracts previously given, all of which evidently refer to musical performances only; but it would seem from the following lines, that occasionally this class of persons exercised the higher orders of their calling upon the festival of Corpus Christi, and recited Romances and other Minstrel lays:—

"Ones y me ordayned, as y have ofte doon,
With frendes, and felawes, frendemen, and other;
And caught me in a company on *Corpus Christi* even,
Six, other seven myle, oute of Suthampton,
To take melodye, and mirthes, among my makes;
With redyng of Romaunces, and revelyng among,
The dym of the darknesse drowe into the west,
And began for to spryng in the grey day." *Percy's Reliques*, vol. ii. 285.

Corrected from the original MS. in the possession of F. Douce, Esq.

v In an account of the Corpus Christi Procession and Plays, as exhibited at York about 1426 (given p. 134 ante,) it is stated that there was on that day a solemn Procession of the Holy Sacrament, "preceded by a vast number of lighted torches, and a great multitude of Priests in their proper habits; and followed by the Mayor and citizens, with a prodigious crowd of the populace attending." From the same authority we also learn, that to this Procession the Company of Porters furnished eight Torches, the Coblers four, the Cordwainers fourteen, the Cutlers two, the Weavers two, the Carpenters six, the Chandlers, Fullers, Girdlers, and Tailors, four each; besides fifty-eight citizens, who had torches "alike on the day of Corpus Christi."

In this Procession the Porters and Coblers went first; then on the right the Weavers and Cordwainers; on the left the Fullers, Cutlers, Girdlers, Chandlers, Carpenters, and Tailors; then the better sort of citizens;

anno 1447, contained in the fourth Letter of that eminently curious Collection published by Sir John Fenn, generally called the "Paston Letters," exhibits so forcibly the violence of private disputes in those ill-governed times, whilst it shews the great assemblage of eminent persons drawn together on this occasion, that it seems to demand a place here:—

"To my worschypful and reverent Lord John Vicont Beaumont[w]

"Rygth worschypfull and my reverent and most espesial Lord y recomaund me un to your good grace in the most humble and lowly wyse that y canne or may desyryng to her of your prosperite and well fare as to my most syngeler joy and spesiall comfort. And gyf hyt plees your hygnes as towchyng the soden aventeur that fell latly at Coventre plees hyt your Lordshyp to her that on Corpus xp̄i even last passed be twene viij and ix of the clok at afternon Syr Umfrey Stafford[x] had browth my mayster Syr James of Urmond[y] towād hys yn from my Lady of Shrewesbery[z] and reterned from hym toward hys yn he met w^t. Syr Robert Harcourt[a] comyng from hys moder towād hys yn and passed Syr Umfrey, and Richard hys son came somewhat be hynd, and when they met to gyder they fell in handes togyder and Sir Robert smot hym a grette stroke on the

afterwards the Members of the Council, twenty-four in number, the twelve Aldermen, and lastly the Mayor, with "four torches of Mr. Thomas Buckton."

The Fraternity of *Corpus Christi* of Skinners (now the Skinners' Company), in London, "had once every yeere, on *Corpus Christi* day, after noone a Procession, which passed through the principal streets of the City, wherein was borne more than one hundred Torches of Waxe (costly garnished) burning light, and above two hundred Clerkes and Priests in Surplesses and Coapes, singing. After the which, were [went] the Sheriffes servants, the Clerkes of the Compters, Chaplaines for the Sherriffes, the Maiors Sergeants, the Councell of the City, the Maior and Aldermen in Scarlet, and then the Skinners in their best Liveries."—*Stowe's Survey, Fo.* p. 248.

On Trinity Sunday there was at Durham a grand Procession, and especially on *Corpus Christi* day, instituted by Urban IV. and great pardons granted upon it. All the trades in the City, with banners and candles, and a shrine containing the *pix*, went in procession, and were joined by the convent, who worshipped it; and had a service in the choir. The plays upon this day were abolished by James I.; and the citizens in some parts of England, to make themselves amends, substituted *Show-days*, and erected arbours in the town meadows, where they feasted, &c. Vide Philips's Shrewsbury, p. 202. *Fosbrooke's British Monachism, Quarto.*

w "John Viscount Beaumont, so created 18th Henry VI.; killed at the battle of Northampton, 1460."

x "A collateral branch of the family of the Duke of Buckingham; killed in June, 1450."

y "Query—James, Son of the Earl of Ormond, who in 1449 was created Earl of Wiltshire?"

z "Wife of John Talbot, the famous Earl of Shrewsbury."

a "Sir Robert Harcourt, he signalized himself in the wars of Henry VI. and Edward IV. was a Knight of the Garter, and in 1470 was slain by the Staffords, perhaps in revenge for this murder."

hed w^t^ hys sord and Richard w^t^ hys dagger hastely went toward hym and as he stombled on of Harcourts men smot hym in the bak w^t^ a knyfe men wotte not ho hytt was reddely, hys fader hard noys and rode toward hem and hys men ronne befor hym thyderward and in the goyng downe of hys hors on he wotte not ho be hynd hym smot hym on the hede w^t^ a nege tole men know not w^t^ us w^t^ what wepone that he fell downe and hys son fell downe be fore hym as goode as dede. And all thys was don as men sey in a Pater-noster wyle. And forth w^t^ Syr Umfrey Stafford men foloed after and slew ij men of Harcowrttus on Swynerton and Bradshawe and mo ben hurt. Sum ben gonne and sum ben in pryson in the Jayl at Coventre. And before the Coroner of Coventre up on the sygth of the bodes ther ben endited as Prynsipall for the deth of Richard Stafford, Syr Robert Harcourt and the ij men that ben dede. And for the ij men of Harcourts that ben dede ther ben endited ij men of Syr Umfrey as Prynsipall. And as gytte ther hath ben no thyng fownden before the Justice of the Pees of Coventre of thys riot be caws the Shereffe of Warwyk shyre is dede and they may not sytt in to the tyme ther be a new Shreve. And all thys myschef fell be cawse of a nold debate that was betwene heme for takyng of a dystres as hyt is told. And all mygthty Jhu preserve yowr hye astat my spesiall Lord and send yow long lyve and good hele. Wryten at Coventre on tewusday next after Corpus x$\bar{p}$i day, &c.

Be yowr own pore S^r^vant

John Northwod".

The MS. Annals of the City thus record the event:—1447. "This Year was a great Fray on Corpus Christi eve between Sir Humphry Stafford and Sir Rich^d^. Harcourt when Sir Humphrys Son was slain with many others on both sides. The fray was about [near to] Broad Gate".[b]

The ensuing extract from Barnabe Googe's translation of what Naogeorgus has in his "Popish Kingdom" said upon the ceremonies of Corpus Christi day, fol. 53 b, will be read with interest here, being an apposite commentary upon the preceding account of the observance of that festival in Coventry:—

[b] As an illustration of ancient manners, in some measure connected with the event above related, the following extract is given from a series of local regulations, enacted at the Leet in Coventry, on the 25th January, 1420:—

"Allso we com'aund that no man of town ne of contrey draw no swerd ne knyfe to odur ne non othur wepon up' the peyn of xl^d^. at ev'y trespas but if hit be hym self defendant: and if he smyte w^t^. a swerd or a knyfe drawyn he schall pay half a m'ke at ev'y trespas to the Baylyffs but if [unless] hit be hym self defendant. Allso we com'aund þ^t^. ev'y hosteler warn hur geestys that they leve hur wepons w^t^in h^r^ Innes but if he be knyght or a squyer that may have a swerd bor'n aft^r^ hym up' the peyn of xl^d^. at ev'y trespas."—*Leet Book, fo.* 3.

" Then doth ensue the solemne feast of Corpus Christi Day,
Who then can shewe their wicked use, and fonde and foolish play?
The hallowed bread, with worship great, in silver Pix they beare
About the Church, or in the Citie passing here and theare.
His armes that beares the same, two of the welthiest men do holde,
And over him a Canopey of silke and cloth of golde
Foure others use to beare aloufe, least that some filthie thing
Should fall from hie, or some mad birde hir doung thereon should fling.
Christes passion here derided is, with sundrie maskes and playes,
Faire Ursley, with hir maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes:
And, valiant George, with speare thou killest the dreadfull dragon here,
The Devil's house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere
A wondrous sort of damned sprites, with foule and fearefull looke,
Great Christopher doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brooke:
Sebastian full of feathred shaftes, the dint of dart doth feele
There walketh Kathren, with hir sworde in hande, and cruel wheele:
The Challis and the singing Cake with Barbara is led,
And sundrie other Pageants playde, in worship of this bred,
That please the foolish people well, what should I stande upon
Their Banners, Crosses, Candlesticks, and reliques many on,
Their Cuppes, and carved Images, that Priestes, with count'nance hie,
Or rude and common people, beare about full solemlie?
Saint John before the bread doth go, and poynting towardes him,
Doth shew the same to be the Lambe that takes away our sinne:
On whome two clad in Angels shape do sundrie flowres fling,
A number great of sacring Belles with pleasant sounde doe ring.
The common wayes with bowes are strawde, and every streete beside,
And to the walles and windowes all, are boughes and braunches tide.
The Monkes in every place do roame, the Nonnes abrode are sent,
The Priestes and schoolmen lowde do rore, some use the instrument.
The straunger passing through the streete, upon his knees doe fall:
And earnestly upon this bread, as on his God, doth call.
For why, they counte it for their Lorde, and that he doth not take
The forme of flesh, but nature now of breade that we do bake.
A number great of armed men here all this while doe stande,
To looke that no disorder be, nor any filching hande:
For all the Church goodes out are brought, which certainly would bee
A bootie good, if every man might have his libertee."

I am enabled to illustrate the subject further by some particulars of the observance of this Procession in Shrewsbury; together with the modern "Shew" grounded upon it; communicated by an intelligent antiquarian friend of that town:—

"The Shrewsbury Shew (as it is called) takes place on the Monday after Trinity Monday, when the incorporated trades, or some of them, each preceded by a man on horseback, dressed in a manner intended to be emblematical of some circumstance referring to the trade of the Company which follows him, move in procession down the principal street and over the Welsh bridge, to a field called Kingsland, in which are a number of small enclosures, called arbours, appropriated to the several trades. Till within these twenty or twenty-five years, this Shew was kept up with much state, and looked forward to by apprentice boys and children for weeks before the time. About an hour after the trades had gone out, and were supposed to be all settled in their arbours, the Mayor and Corporation used to ride to Kingsland, and drink a glass of wine and take some refreshment at each of the arbours. Of late years, this practice has been left off, and indeed very few companies now observe the custom; those who do attend, being only a few apprentices, and not the masters. The Drapers always held themselves too high (at least for many years past) to take part in the ceremony, which no doubt originated in a Procession which in the days of Popery took place on Corpus Christi day. Our old 'Compositions,' as the bye-laws of our Trading Companies were called, all contain, about the middle of the 15th century, regulations for this Procession. That of the Weavers, anno 1444, provides that certain fines shall be applied 'to the sustentac̃on & encrece of the lyght of the seyd crafte of wev̊s & her successo'rs at the feast of Corp̊ xp̄i daye', and the composition of the Fletchers, 27th Henry VI., states this Procession to have been 'tyme owt of mynde'. The composition of Mercers, Ironmongers, and Goldsmiths, directs that they shall provide 300 mede of wax yearly, to be burnt 'in the ꝑcession of the feaste of Corpus xp̄i before the blessed Sacrament'. The composition of the Taylors, anno 1460, appropriates certain fines to 'wax for seynt Wenefredes candel'.[c] In the Bailiffs' Accounts, — Henry VIII., I find an item, 'Sol̊ pro pane & vino dat̊ ballivis & abbatibꝫ Salop̊ & Haghmon ad generalem processionem festo Corporis Christi pro honestate ville Salop ij^{s} viij^{d};' but I have not been able to discover any order of the Corporation by which this

[c] This item proves that the Weavers kept a light burning before the shrine of that Saint in the Abbey; but it is very doubtful whether it had any connexion with the candles used on Corpus Christi day.

'Shew' was transferred from Corpus Christi day, or the Thursday in Trinity week, to the Monday following, though it doubtless took place on the abolition of that festival."

A note by the lively and ingenious author of "Florence Macarthey," at p. 282, vol. ii. of that work, evidently refers to a continuance of this custom in Ireland until very recently, though much debased from its original manner and intent. "The Fringes was a procession of the trades and corporations, performed in Ireland on Corpus Christi day, even within the author's recollection. King Solomon, Queen Sheba, with Vulcan, Venus, and Cupid, were leading persons upon this occasion. The ceremony was the remains of an old Roman Catholic superstition."

The following particulars of a Corpus Christi Procession at Venice, in 1518, and another in Spain, in 1604, shew the extended and magnificent scale upon which these solemnities have been celebrated under certain circumstances; and as they tend to illustrate our humble Coventry Procession, will perhaps be no improper appendage to this portion of the Essay:—

Extract from "the Pylgrymage of Syr Rychard Torkyngton Person of Mulberton in Norffolke and how he went towardys Jherusalem all alone to the tyme he came to Venesse". Commencing March 20, 1518, ending April 17, 1519:

"The other ffest was oõn Corpĩs xp̃i day wher was the most solemn ꝑcession that ev̄ I saw. Ther went Pagents of the old Law and the new Law Joynyng togedyr, The ffggmyes of the blyssyd sacrament in such nowmbre and so apte and convenient for that ffest that it wold make ony man joyus to se it. And over that it was a grett merveyle to se the grett nowmbre of Religius ffolkes and of Scolys that we call Bachelers or ffelachippys Clothed all in wt garmens wt dv̄se Bag̃s on ther brestis which bar all lights of wondyr goodly fac̃ion. And be twyne ev̄y of the pagents went lityll Chĩdern of bothe kynds gloriusly and rechely dressed beryng in ther handys ryche Cuppes or otther vessales of gold and silver Rychely inamelyd and gylt ffull of pleasaunt fflowers and well smellyng which Chyldern kest the flowers ũpon the lords and pylgrymes. They wer dressed as Aungellis wt clothe of gold and crymsyn velvet to order the seyd ꝑcession. The forme and man̄ therof excedyd all other that ev̄ I saw so myche that I canne nott wryte it. The Duke [Doge] satt in Seynt Markes Churche in ryght hye astate in the Qwer on ꝑe ryght syd wt senyoryte which they call lords in Riche aparell as purpyll velvet cremsyn velvet ffyne Scarlet.

" Also all the pylgrymes war commaundyd to com in to the ffor seyd Qwer and ther we Satt all on the left syd on the quere The Duke thus Sittyng w^{t} his lords the seyd procession be ganne to com be hym a bowte viij of the clok and it was xij or the seyd ꝑcession myght com oonys a bowt passyng by as faste as they myght goo but on tyme.

" Thanne the Duke rose up w^{t} hys lords and company to folow the fforsayd procession he commaundyd hys lordys that they shuld in the ꝑcession ev̄y oõn of them take a Pylgryme on hys Ryght hande hys sv̄aunts gevyng to us grett Candyls of wax whych Candelys ev̄y pylgrim bar a wey the ꝑcession doon at hys owen plesur. We procedyd owt of Seynt Markes Churche in to the Dukys Pales and so went ꝑcession w^{t} inne the seyd place be cause it was Reyne wedyr and so retornyd in to the Churche ageyne of Seynt Marke and ther made ende of the seyd procession." *MS. penes, R. B. Wheler, Esq.*

Extract from " a Relation of the Earl of Nottingham's Journey to Spain," as Ambassador, in 1604 :—

" Thursday the 30 May being Corpus Christi day the King went in procession and for that he would be seen by the English the course was appointed by the Gate where his Lordship lodged.

" First came 8 great Giants, three Men 3 Women and 2 Moors with a tabor and pipe playing and they dancing. Then followed certain Pilgrims clad in Blue. After whom came many Crosses being in number 25 or 26 borne and attended by the Officers of the several Churches to which they belonged. Amongst whom were also mingled divers Pictures of Saints, as St John, St George killing ye Dragon, St Michael, St Francis, St Andrew, St Dominick, St Martin, the Picture of Christ in several forms, Mary Magdalen and our Lady in divers fashions also. Many holy and precious Relics, Friars, Morrice dancers in manner of Gypsies, Beasts with Fire-works, Wildmen and such like Toys as it would seem to draw the People more readily with admiration. After these followed divers other Church Relics, Friars Augustines. Other Friars of the order of St Francis with their Relics. Many Churchmen with lighted Tapers in their hands, the Kings Pages bearing Torches—then the Sacraments borne by 4 Churchmen in rich Copes, then the Lords and Grandees of Spain, then followed the King bearing a lighted taper of Virgin Wax, after whom followed the Cardinal, the Emperors Ambassador and the Venetian Ambassador, the Prince of Savoy, the Prince of Morocco and others all bearing Tapers lighted in their hands." *Harl. Misc.* vol. iii. 420.

Setting the Watches, &c. on Midsummer & St. Peter's Eves.

The custom of kindling Fires on the Eve of St. John, or, as it is now usually called, Midsummer Eve, is noticed by Bourne, and further illustrated by his continuator, Brand, in the "Popular Antiquities" of the latter writer, 8vo. edition; but although much learning and industry is shewn in investigating the origin and remote usage of this very ancient custom, still the manner of celebrating it, as practised by our ancestors, and which continued (in Cities and Towns more especially,) until nearly the conclusion of the 16th century, is entirely passed over, with the exception of a short extract from Stowe's "Survey of London," being a small portion of his very curious and detailed account of the "marching Watch," &c. on Midsummer Eve and the Vigil of St. Peter, as formerly practised in the Metropolis. The greatly-enlarged edition of Mr. Brand's work, in 2 vols. 4to. 1813, edited by Mr. Ellis, contains much additional matter on the Summer Solstice, and various scattered illustrations of the observance of this Festival in England; but it is very evident (and much to be regretted) that neither the author or his learned editor have taken a systematic view of the subject; since many circumstances elucidative of it are slightly passed over, some misunderstood, and others totally omitted; so that, upon the whole, not much information is afforded to the *general reader* upon this interesting portion of our ancient customs.

It seems desirable, therefore, that the subject should receive a full investigation, before the materials which are to elucidate its minutiæ are utterly dispersed or destroyed; and it is somewhat singular that in an age peculiarly characterised by a spirit of research into our national antiquities, this branch of it has been so much[d] overlooked or neglected. In the hope of contributing somewhat towards supplying this deficiency, the writer of the present Dissertation has used his best industry to extract and combine from the ancient Records of the City of Coventry such memoranda and documents as have a connection therewith, adding occasional observations and remarks. That the subject may be more clearly understood, it has been thought advisable to commence the present account with the entire article from Stowe, making that the ground-work, and applying the materials obtained from the City Records as they bear upon its various parts, so as to illustrate the venerable Stowe, whilst they minutely detail the manner in which these customs were observed in Coventry.

[d] Godwin, in his "Life of Chaucer," merely gives an abridgment of Stowe's account of the Midsummer Watch, with a short and trivial addition from Strutt, whose entire article upon the subject in his "Sports and Pastimes," is of little value or importance.

"In the Months of June and July (says Stowe), on the Vigils of Festivall dayes, and on the same Festivall dayes in the Evenings, after the Sun-setting, there were usually made Bone-fires in the streets, every man bestowing wood or labour towards them. The wealthier sort also before their doores, neere to the said Bone-fires[e] would set out Tables on the Vigils, furnished with sweete bread, and good drinke, and on the Festivall dayes with meats and drinkes plentifully, whereunto they would invite their neighbours and passengers also to sit, and be merry with them in great familiarity, praysing God for his benefits bestowed on them. These were called Bone-fires, as well of amity amongst neighbours, that being before at controversie, were there by the labour of others reconciled, and made of bitter enemies, loving friends; as also for the vertue that a great fire hath, to purge the infection of the ayre".

Respecting this practice in Coventry, I have only discovered the following Order of Leet, made in Easter, 26th of Henry VI., 1448:—

Volunt & ordinant q̄d nullus deinceps fac̄ dampnũ in pastur̄ claus̄ seu aliis locis in scindendo ramos v̄l samples s̄b pena cuiꝰl̄t delinquent̄ xijˢ [lege xijᵈ] Et q̄d nullus deceō frangat pavimentũ ad ponend̄ in eo ramos in vigil̄ nativitat̄ sc̃i Joh'is Bapt̄e & sc̃i Petri sed h̄eat quil̄t carbones & grossũ ffocale s̄b ead̄ pena.

That the same custom prevailed in Warwick, we learn from an Indenture of Covenants betwixt Thomas Oken, of that Town, and his twelve feoffees, dated 20th of January, 13th of Elizabeth, of which an extract follows:—

"Also that (the Feoffees) their Heires or Assignes shall lykewyse yerelie for ever after the deceasse of the said Thomas Oken distribute or cause to be distributed and paide oute of the yerelie Revenewes of the forsaid Landes and Tenemẽtes to and amongest the neyghboures of the bonfire of the said Thomas Oken wᵗʰin the Highe payʸment Warde in the said Towne of Warwick towe

e Warner, in his "Albion's England," [Edit. 1597, p. 121,] enumerating the country festivities of the period, has the following line:—

"At Bapti's day, with ale and cakes bout bonfires neighbors stood."

"A custom prevails in the Western parts of Cornwall, of making large bonfires in some principal part of the Town, parading the streets with lighted torches, and with garlands of flowers on the head, and thrown as a scarf on the shoulders, on the Eve of Midsummer and St. Peter's day. It was some years back the custom to swing children over the bonfire when it was nearly out, in order, as the old people said, to make them grow, also to make them fortunate throughout the following year." *Gentleman's Magazine, May* 1821, p. 386.

Minor Correspondence from a Female Yorkshire Correspondent.

Shillinges of lawfull Englysshe Money and thre Shillinges more of lawfull Englishe Money to be paide by equall porc̃ions to and amongest the neyhboures of the other thre bonfyres beinge wthin the said Warde of the Highe pay'ment to make merry w^{t}all at there said bonfires *yff any be in the Vigilles or daies of Seynt John Baptist & Seynt Peter* and yff they have noe Bonfires that then the same to be ymployed to some other good use or uses as to them shalbe thought metest and convenient".

Stowe's narrative of the Marching Watch and celebration of the Eves of St. John Baptist and St. Peter, in London, proceeds in the following order:—

"On the Vigill of S$^{t.}$ John Baptist, and on St Peter and Paul the Apostles, every mans doore being shadowed with Greene Birch, long Fennel, St Johns wort, Orpin,[f] white Lilies, and such like, garnished upon with Garlands of beautifull flowers, had also Lamps of glasse, with Oyle burning in them all the night; some hung out branches of Iron curiously wrought, containing hundreds of Lamps lighted at once, which made a goodly shew, namely in new Fishstreet, Thames-street &c. Then had ye besides the standing watches, all in bright harnesse, in every Ward and street of this City and Suburbs, a marching watch, that passed through the principal streets thereof, to wit, from the little Conduit by Paul's gate, through West Cheape by the Stocks, through Cornehill by Leadenhall to Aldgate, then backe down Fen-Church street, by Grasse Church, about Grasse-Church Conduit, and up Grasse Church street into Cornhill and through it into West Cheape again, and so broke up. The whole way ordered for this marching watch, extended to 3200 Taylors yards of assize, for the furniture whereof with lights, there were appointed 700 Cressets, 500 of them being found by the Companies, the other 200 by the Chamber of London. Besides the which lights, every Constable in London, in number more than 240 had his Cresset: the charge of every Cresset was in light two shillings foure pence, and every Cresset had 2 men, one to beare or hold it, another to beare a bag with light, and to serve it: so that the poore men pertaining to the Cressets, taking

[f] In Lyte's translation of Dodoen's Herbal, Fo. 1578, we read—"*Orpyne*, The people of the countrey delight much to set it in pots and shelles on *Midsummer Even*, or upon timber, slattes, or trenchers, dawbed with clay, and to set or hang it up in their houses, where as it remayneth greene a long season and groweth, if it be sometimes oversprinckled with water. It floureth commonly in August." The common name for Orpyne-plants, was that of *Midsummer Men*.

wages, besides that every one had a strawen[g] hat, with a badge painted, & his breakfast in the morning, amounted in number to almost 2000. The marching watch[h] contained in number 2000 men, part of them being old Souldiers, of skill to bee Captaines, Lieutenants, Serjeants, Corporals, &c. Wifflers, Drummers, and Fifes, Standard and Ensigne-bearers, Sword-players,[i] Trumpeters on horse-backe, Demilaunces on great horses, Gunners with hand-guns, or halfe hakes Archers in cotes of white fustian, signed on the brest and backe with the Armes of the City, their bowes bent in their hands, with sheafes of arrowes by their sides, Pikemen in bright Corslets, Burganets &c Holbards, the like Billmen in Almaine Rivets, and Aperns of Mayle in great number.[k] There were also

g Amongst the Harleian MSS., No. 3741 is entitled "A Booke conteyning the Manner and Order of Watche to be used in the Cittie of London, upon the even at Night of Sainct John Baptist and Sainct Peeter, as in tyme past hath bene accustomed." This account bears the date of 1585, when it probably was in contemplation to renew the Watches, and furnishes several amplifications of Stowe's account, together with some additional particulars which will be found in the ensuing extracts. The first states that both the cresset and bag-bearers were to have "a broade strawne hatt according to th'olde order". It also contains directions for the streets to be gravelled for the safety "of the stirringe horses which shall praunce and mounte alofte"; and that lanterns and candles should be hung forth of every window where the Watch passes, between nine and ten o'clock at night, for avoiding inconveniences by lewd-disposed persons. Eight barrels of beer, ten dozen of white bread, and six dozen of stone cruses, were to be provided for the Watch, by the Chamber.

h In "Londons Artillery," a very rare Poem by Richard Nicolls, 4to. 1616, is an interesting description of the observance of the Vigils of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter, in London, "when (says he) that famous marching-watch consisting of two thousand, beside the standing-watches, were maintained in this Citie. It continued from temp. Henric. III. to the 31st of Henry VIII. when it was laid down by license from the King, and revived (for that year only) by Sir Thomas Gresham, Lord Mayor, 2 Edw. VI."

Then follows in Ellis's Brand, vol. i. pp. 260-1, a long and curious extract from the Poem.

In "The Pleasant and Stately Morall of the Three Lordes and Three Ladies of London," printed by Jhones, 1590, is the following passage descriptive of the popular amusements and customs of the period in the metropolis, and alluding to the Midsummer Watch very pointedly:—

——— Let nothing that's magnifical,
Or that may tend to London's graceful state,
Be unperform'd, as *showes* and *solemne feastes*.
Watches in armour, triumphes, cresset-lights,
Bonefires, belles, and *peals of ordinaunce*
And pleasure. See that *plaies* be published,
Mai-games, and *maskes*, with mirth and *minstrelsie*,
Pageants and *school-feastes, beares* and *puppet-plaies*.

i From the Harl. MS. we learn that the Sword-players should go foremost in the Watch, "to make roome".

k The Harleian MS. directs that to every eighth rank one cresset-bearer and his attendants should be appointed; the bag-bearer to follow his cresset, and both to march on the "nether side of the watch next the cannel, and every cressett right against the middle of the eight ranks he is appoynted to".

divers Pageants, Morris dancers,[l] Constables, the one halfe which was 120 on S[t] Johns Eve, the other halfe on Saint Peters Eve in bright harnesse, some over-gilt, and every one a Jornet of Scarlet thereupon and a chaine of Gold, his Hench-man following him, his Minstrells before him, and his Cresset light passing by him: the Waytes of the City, the Maiors Officers, for his guard before him, all in a Livery of Wosted or Say Jackets, party coloured, the Maior himselfe wel mounted on horseback, the Swordbearer before him in faire Armour, well mounted also, the Maior's foot-men and the like Torch-bearers about him; Hench-men[m] twaine, upon great stirring horses following him. The Sheriffes Watches came one after the other in like order, but not so large in number as the Maiors: for where the Maior had besides his Giant three Pageants, each of the Sheriffes had besides their Giants, but two Pageants; each their morris-dance, and one Hench-man, their Officers in Jackets of Wolsted, or Say, party coloured, differing from the Maiors, and each from other, but having harnessed men a great many, &c."

"This Midsummer Watch was thus accustomed yeerely, time out of minde, untill the yeere 1539." What follows is not directly to our purpose; briefly, he records that in 1539, in consequence of a great and expensive muster of citizens (to the number of 15,000,)[n] the King forbade the Midsummer marching Watch;

[l] A company of morris-dancers were to form a part of the Lord Mayor's attendants in the directions contained in the Harleian MS. before referred to, and likewise "twelve proper boys on hobby-horses fynely covered with some prettye coloured thinge, as buckeram or lynen paynted", armed with "kuretts", poldrens, vanbraces, and burganets or head pieces of pasteboard, after some strange manner, silvered over; bases of linen or buckram, painted after the best device; each having a little sword or light foil of iron, that after prancing, mounting, &c. they may at divers times in the Watch make combat together, six against six, in true form and order of a "matachina", not hurting each other, but always striking on the sword.

[m] The two henchmen are thus described in the Harleian MS.:—Mounted on great stirring horses, armed with "kuretts and poldrens" fitting their bodies, of gilt pasteboard, sleeves and bases decent and brave accordingly. Head-pieces and burganetts of pasteboard, after some "anticke" manner, as the deviser can best do; great tufts or plumes of feathers, part upright, part hanging down the back, or else long double scarfs of tinsel, fringed or tasselled with gold; buskins red or white leather, and spurs gilt. They were many times "to praunce, mounte and fetche up their horses alofte on all fower in the gallantest and best wise", as in times past; and attendant on them were to be eight footmen, apparelled in silk doublets and hose, with night-caps of the same; two to each henchman, and four were leading spare horses for each.

[n] It is remarkable that though Stowe, in his Chronicle, after noticing the great Muster in 1539, adds: "No watch at Midsomer", yet in 1528, he says: "because of the sweating sicknes that then raigned in the citty of London, there was no such watch at Midsommer as before time had been accustomed".

Grafton and Hall, sub anno 1528, (both using the same words,) record that "By reason of the sweating sicknes the watches which were wont to be kept yerely in London on saint Jhons eve at Midsommer & saint

that it was discontinued until 1548, when a revival took place in the Mayoralty of Sir Thomas Gresham, with the full usual order, and some additional display of armed men, but was never assembled afterwards.

Stowe's Survey of London, Folio, 1633—pp. 84-5.

To shew that it was customary in Coventry to decorate the doors of the inhabitants with birch boughs, flowers, &c. as described above, it will be necessary, perhaps, to repeat a part of the Order of Leet in 1448, before recited:—"Et q^{d} nullus decet^{o} *frangat pavimentu' ad ponend^{m} in eo ramos* in vigil^{m} nativitat^{is} sc̃i Johĩs Bapt^{e} & sc̃i petri".

In the Accounts of the Trinity Gild (anno 1457.) is the following entry:—"Exp^{s} fact^{a} in die sc̃i Johĩs Bapt^{e} Imp̃mis p̃sbit^{is} & Clĩcis de Babl^{m} vj^{s} viij^{d} Itm̃ in oblac̃oe··xij^{d} Itm̃ magr^{o} & al^{m} officiar^{m} Gilde in uno regardo ab antiqũ usitat^{a}··iij^{s} It^{m} histrionibꝫ Civitatis··v^{d} Itm̃ in *Cirpis & Birchyn-bowys*··iij^{d} It^{m} in j lag^{m} de Tyre··xvj^{d} Itm̃ in j potell de Maleveys··viij^{d} Sm^{a} xvij^{s} xj^{d}"

The Rushes and Birchyn-boughs above named, were of course used in the Hall at Bablake, where the Priests had their collation; but the extract serves to shew the use of birch boughs$_{o}$ on that day; and it may be remarked, that although this celebration of St. John's Day was confined to the Priests of the

Peters eve, were by the king & his con'sail com'aunded to be left for that yere, wherefore the Armorers made great suit to the king and declared their great hinderaunce which was not so much considred as the mischiefe that might have ensued if that so great a nu'ber should have assembled together in ye hote time, & the plague of sweating raigning".

Grafton, in 1547, says:—"this yere the watch in London, which had not been used nintene yeres before was againe kept by sir John Gresham then Maior of London, both on the even of saint John Baptist and also on the even of saint Peter next followyng &c."

Nicols states that they were laid down on account of the muster in 1539; and in Byddel's Chronicle, under 1527, we read:—"This yere was the sweatinge sicknesse for the which cause there was no watche at Mydsommer".

$_{o}$ Birch boughs, on account of the beauty and delicacy of the foliage and branches, were much used by our ancestors to adorn their festivals. Gerard says:—"It serveth well to the decking up of houses and banqueting rooms, for places of pleasure and for beautifying of streets in the Crosse & Gang week, and such like".

As recently as the year 1780, the writer of this Essay saw at Rugeley, in Staffordshire, a number of young *birch trees* brought on May-day from the neighbouring coppices, and placed in a large circle round the Maypole: this circle of trees was called the *Bower,* and the young people danced and had their games in and round about it most part of the day; but the custom is now discontinued, though at the period referred to it was regularly practised, and was an ancient and uniform usage.

"Thoo trees apperceyved by Eneas came thider in entencyon to cutte and hewe doun some of the bowes

Trinity Gild, yet there was a "general day at St Mary Hall on the Feast of St Peter and St Paul" for the whole Fraternity. In addition to the preceding extract, the following instances of boughs and flowers being used in Coventry on Midsummer Day, after the Watch was discontinued, strongly corroborates the belief that a similar practice was antecedently observed there, in the manner described by Stowe:—

1587.—"payde for bowes & flowers for o^r^ metynge house at þ^e^ day of the election of the new masters (Midsummer) iij^d^"—*Accounts of the Smiths' Company.*

To proceed with our illustrations in the manner proposed, the most ancient document that has occurred is a very interesting "Bill" or Petition, relating to the government of these Watches, put in at the City Leet, in 1421, by Richard Crosby, Prior of Coventry, the Master of St. John's Hospital, Master John Bredon, Doctor in Theology, and many others:—

"To the Reverent and wurschipfull states that her byn, and to all wurthy men of this g^e^tt lete be this bill Schewid and Rad. for as moche as þ^r^ be many good ordyn^a^ũce3 maid by the maior and be his good counsell god save hem, the wiche w^t^ the g̃^a^ce of god schuld turne the town to g̃^e^tt worship & ꝑsperite. We wold desiren a thyng the wiche was nev^r^ ordenyd be no lete nor be counsell of the maio^r^ and his peerys That hit myght by your hye and good disc̃^e^ssion be set in a nothur kynd And that is the g̃^e^tt multytude of peopull the wich is gatherid to gethur on mydsomer evyn and apon seynt peturs for we supposyn þ^t^ hit lyeth in no mannys power thow3e he ordeyn for hem as well as he can for to plese hem all. And not onely for this cause but allso of g̃^e^tt debate and man slau3ghter and othur perels and synnes þ^t^ myght fall and late have fallen And þ^r^for 3if hit lyke you we wold schew you how us thynkyth best hit myght be sett and braunches for to apparaylle: and make fayr the place of his sacrefyce: Lyke as we englysshe men doo whan we halowe ony solempnyte in the tyme of somer: In strowynge wyth herbes and settynge up of grene trees and bowes in the chirches and chappellis for to refresshe the people there assembled by cause of the fest & solempnyte there to be halowed". *Caxton's Eneid, sign. B. iiij b.*

The following curious extract from Bishop Pecock's Repressour, c. 6, is given by Lewis, in his Life of that Prelate, p. 70:—

"Whanne men of the cuntree uplond bringen into Londoun, on Mydsomer Eve, braunchis of trees from Bischopis-wode, and flouris fro the field, and bitaken tho to citessins of Londoun for to therwith araie her housis, that thei make therewith her houses gay, into remembraunce of Seint Johan Baptist, and of this, that it was prophesied of him that many schulden joie in his burthe".

in bett^{r} Gov̄nanse in Eschewyng of many peryls, If hit lyke yor discression us thynkyth þ^{t} hit wer good Gov̄nauns that ev̄y ward kept hem w^{t}in h^{r} own ward in good and honest aray And ev̄y ward w^{t}in hem self chese hem ij wardens for to have the gov̄nance of the ij nyghts beforseid And the maior to walk w^{t} c̄ten men the wiche byn pleasyng unto hym And the Baylyffs the same wyse on the second nyght for to walk thorow all the wardys of the town And the maio^{r} to gyve a subsydye of money to the wardens of yche warde on the furst nyght And the Bayliffes to doo the same on the second nyght The wich subsidye must be ordenyd be the maio and his counsell what hit shalbe in this mayres tyme And also in tyme comyng Now ȝe have herd the entent of this bill wurche now by yor disc̃^{e}ssion in the name of the Trinite".

The preceding article gives a lively picture of the extent and magnitude of the assemblage upon these occasions, and some idea may be formed from it of the importance which was attached to the celebration of the customs and ceremonies attendant upon these Festivals. No Order of Leet appears to have been made in consequence; but there is reason to suppose that the suggestions were in some degree attended to, because until 1549 (see p. 184 post,) the *Mayor* used to keep a Watch on Midsummer night, and the *Sheriffs* on St. Peter's night; herein differing from the practice in London, as recorded by Stowe.

In 1444 an Order of Leet was made " pur le Ridyng on Corpus x$\bar{p}$i day and for Watche on midsomer even", relating solely to the order of the Companies upon these occasions, for particulars of which see p. 160, ante. This regulation applies to the Armed Watch set out by the respective Companies on Midsummer Eve equally with the Corpus Christi Procession; and it will be seen from the following extracts, that the Members of the different Companies assembled on these evenings, previous to the marching of the Watch, and regaled themselves with wine, ale, cakes, &c. By a reference to the Act of Leet in 1531, whereby the Cappers were associated with the Cardmakers and Sadlers in their Pageant and Chapel, it will also be seen (p. 45,) that " in ther p̄cessions & watches" the Members of the Companies walked together " too & too" (of course each in his proper livery,) and the note at foot[p] proves that the Journeymen also joined the Proces-

[p] *Smiths' Company.* 1464.—It' on þ^{e} Jorneymen the sayd nyght yn bred ale & wyn ....xxiij^{d} (St Peter's)
1470.—It' on Corp' nyght spende upon the Jurneymen .....v^{d}
Dyers' Company. 1504.—It' to the Jernamen on me'somer nyght .....xx^{d}
See also an extract from the Rules of the Smiths' Company, p. 22, ante.

sion of the Marching Watch; indeed the annexed extracts shew that a fine was imposed upon every person of the Craft who did not attend:—

SMITHS' ACCOUNTS.

1449.—S Peters Night—" Itm̃ in brede ....iiij^{d} It in ale a cest^{r} .....xviij^{d}
Midsummer Itm̃ payed for wyne & ale .....xv^{d}
1468.—Mids^{r} Night In wyne at the Gascoyne taverne .....ij^{s}
In spyc?s..iiij^{d} In wyne..xij^{d} In ale ....vij^{d}
At dolfyns howse in cakes..ij^{d} in ale....vj^{d}
In spic?s .....iij^{d} In wyne .....vj^{d}
At Danyells howse cakes....iij^{d} Ale....iiij^{d} ob
spic?s .....iij^{d} It' a gallon of wyne .....vj^{d}
1470.—Expñ at the Taverne on seynt petur nyght for drynkyng amonge the feleschip In bred & wyne to gedur .....vij^{s} vij^{d}
Expñ on the seide nyght at the mayst^{r} house Degory in brede..vj^{d}
It' ale..ix^{d} It' wyne a Gallon & đ..xij^{d} It' Comfetts..v^{d}
It' blaunche powder.....v^{d} It' Annese & lycorise.....iij^{d}
1471.—St Peter's night, inter alia.—It đ a lb blaunche powd'r It đ lb Coumphets It a lb drege..xx^{d}"

RULES OF THE SMITHS' COMPANY.

" Also whatt pson or psons off the seid Craftis that Wilnot goo in the Watchis on midsomer night and seint petyrs night, or breke the Watche w^{t}out any lauffull cause to fforfet ffor mydsomer night iij^{s} iij^{d} in the name of a paine and for seint petyrs night xx^{d} w^{t}out any grace".

Three persons were fined " for brekyng þ^{e} wach on seynt peter nyght".

Account Book, 38th Henry VIII.

DYERS' ACCOUNTS.

1463.—Midsummer and S$^{t.}$ Peters night.—It kakus spices & wynes (inter alia)
1470.—Midsummer.—It in brede on mydsomer nyght..xviij^{d} It in ale..xviij^{d}
It in blaunche powder drage & comfet .....ij^{s} ix^{d}
iij galons red wyn..xviij^{d} ij galons whit wyn..xvj^{d}

RULES OF THE DYERS' COMPANY.

" For kepynge the kynges watche upon mydsomer nyghte &c Item That everie man beynge of þ^{e} sayde fellowshyppe and companye shall come and be

readye when the heade master of the sayde companye sendethe his clerke or somener to gyve his attendaunce on Mydsomer nyghte, to fetche the under master of the same companye at hys howse, And from thence to goe to the heade masters howse, And there to take suche thynges as shalbe provyded for them. And after that to attende uppon bothe the sayde masters before the maior & hys brethren to kepe the kynges watche. In payne to forfayte for everye defaulte thirtene shillings & foure pence. The one halfe therof to the maior of the saide cytie for the tyme beynge, And the other halfe therof to the use of the sayde fellowshipp".

RULES OF THE MERCERS' COMPANY.

" For to come to þe kings wache, Also hit ys ordened that evy man of the same crafte shalbe redy to attend apon the iiij mastēs of the saide crafte at evy wache when the meyr comaundeth them to goe on payne of xijd at evy defaute & no peny pardoned".

CARPENTERS' ACCOUNTS.

1448.—It sol in nocto sci johīs....vd It sol in nocto sci petri.....vd
1451.—It spendyd on mydsomr nygt & seynt pets nyȝt .....xiiijd
1454.—Itm in bred & ale on midsomr nyght..xjd—the like for St. Johns Eve.
1486.—It' þe expense on mydsomr nyght & seynt pets night for the crafte iijs
1534.—Midsr.—Inpmis iij dosen of white caks.....iijs
Itm a dos' spiced caks.....xijd
Itm a Seystarne & a halfe of ale .....ijs iiijd
Itm pd ffor ijli Comfets & a li of blanc powd .....ijs
Itm pd ffor a lī marmelet .....viijd
1561.—Bread, Ale, Fish, Butter, Comfits, and Marmalade, at Midsummer.

The Cappers', and generally the Carpenters' Company, confined themselves to Ale on these occasions; indeed it appears that the Smiths were considered somewhat extravagant in their expenditure, for in 1472, at a general annual meeting of the Company, at the Grey Friars, it was ordained, inter alia, " that any maystr for hens forward schalbe a lowed for midsomer nyght for brede wyne & ale the seide nyght vs. & not a peny more. Also itt is ordeyned by the felischipp that the maist's schallbe a lowed for seint pets nyght iijs iiijd & nott a peny more".

The following Order of Leet occurs in 1545:—" It is also enacted that the Meir & Shereffs shall from hensforthe kepp ther drynkyng on midsomr nyght & seynt pets nyght befor the watche & not after as haithe been used in tymes past".

At this "drinking" we may conclude the members of the Corporation attended, in the manner that the Company of Smiths assembled on these evenings; and it is creditable to the sobriety of the parties, that their "drinking" was ordered to take place prior to the Watch, rather than afterwards. The probability of the chief members of the Corporation attending this preparatory banquet, is much confirmed by the ensuing Act of Leet, in 1555:—

"Allso that evy aldermã & shyryf beinge able to Ride shall accompanye Mr meyre & ryde wt hym in the watche on mydsomer nyght in ther scarlet & evy of them to have a mã weytinge uppon hym wt torche light uppon peyne of xxs".

The only remaining Act of Leet for regulating the Watches on Midsummer and St. Peter's Nights, is the following, made in 1549:—

"Wher as in tymes past Mr Meire for the tyme beying haithe used to kepp a Watche on midsomr nyght and the Shireffs another Watche on seynt peters nyght It is now enacted at this p?nt leet by auctoritie of the same that Mr Meire & the Shireffs shall frome hensfurthe joyntlie kepp onelie oon Watche on midsomr nyght at the indeferent costs & chargs of Mr Meire & the Shereffs That is the Meire to pay the on half & the Shereffs the other half".

Cressets.

We have not sufficient data to ascertain the aggregate number of the marching Watch, or of Cressets paraded on these evenings. The Smiths' and Drapers' Companies usually furnished four Men and four Cressets; the Carpenters' two of each; the Cappers two Men and four Cressets; the Dyers' four Cressets, beside Torches, two Men in complete white Armour, and four, or sometimes six, in Brigandines. The Butchers' number of Cressets is uncertain; but they provided six Armed Men; and in 1577, the Drapers' furnished eight Cressets, when the Watch was set only on Midsummer Night.

In Mr. Douce's "Illustrations of Shakspeare," are four different representations of Cressets: of which the authority for that without a light burning in it, is an original Cresset formerly belonging to the Cappers' Company, and doubtless used in their Processions, which is now in the possession of the writer (see pl. 9.)

Numerous items occur in the Accounts of these Companies, illustrative of Cressets; and if a more than ordinary space is devoted to extracts explanatory of the fabric and usage of these universal appendages of the favourite Night Processions of our ancestors, it may be well excused when it is considered how

few are the means we possess of entering into the minutiæ of the subject, and how rapidly those means are perishing.

CAPPERS' COMPANY.

1518.—Itm̃ for makyng of iij cressets [q] ..... v^{s} viij^{d}
1544.—Itm̃ to þ^{e} smythe for makyng a cressyt & mendyng of a nother · · xviij^{d}
Itm̃ payd for bottomyng a cressyt · · vj^{d} Itm̃ for a new Cressyt · · xvj^{d}
1520.—It' for berryng cressets & the wreyth [r] ..... x^{d}
1544.—It' p'd for beryng of iiij cressytts ..... viij^{d}
It' p'd for berryng of pudyng Ropps ..... iiij^{d}
1534.—It' p'd for vij ston of cresset lyght ..... ij^{s} iij^{d}
It' p'd for beryng the same & cressetts ..... x^{d}
1520.—It' p'd for strawe hatts ..... ij^{d}
1547.—It' p'd for iiij steffes for cressyts ..... j^{d}
It' p'd for iiij ston of cressyt lyght ..... ij^{s}

SMITHS' COMPANY.

1544.—It' to robert morres for makyng of a cresset ..... xiiij^{d}
payd for a peese of plat þ^{t} whent to the same ..... iij^{d} ob
1555.—It' ffor ij new Cressets & mendyng of ij ..... vj^{s}
1451.—It' ij cresset berr's ..... ij^{d} It' þ^{e} panȝer berr's ..... ij^{d}
1549.—It' payd to þ^{e} boye þ^{t} bere þ^{e} podyngs ..... j^{d}
1561.—It' for beryng of þ^{e} puddyngs · · iiij^{d} (5 Cressets & 6 Stone of light)

DRAPERS' COMPANY.

1540.—mendyng the iiij cressetts w^{t} iiij hopis of Iron & peyntyng the polls xx^{d}
1556.—payd for iiij newe cressytts ..... xij^{s}
1534.—a Bag and beryng of cressetts lyght ..... v^{d} (4 Cressets)
1556.—payde for xiiij ston of cressytt lyght ..... ix^{s} iiij^{d}
1527.—p'd to hym þ^{t} bayre þ^{e} podyngs for bothe nyghts ..... vj^{d}

CARPENTERS' ACCOUNTS.

The first mention of Cressets in these Accounts, occurs in 1519, when the

[q] In an Inventory of Goods belonging to the Cappers' Company, in 1590, is this entry:—"It'm sixe cressites ij streamers and the poles &c".

[r] See Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. i., p. 429.

Company purchased four, previous to which time Torches were used; and it may be here remarked, that the earliest occurrence of Cressets in the Companies' Books is in the Smiths' Accounts for 1451, and next in the Cappers' for 1518, who then purchased four new ones, having before used Torches in like manner as the Carpenters. A few specimens of charges for the latter are given in note [s], at foot of this page.

1520.—Itm̃ payd for beryng the Cressetts .....vj^{d}
Itm̃ payd for lyght for the Cressetts .....x^{d}
1521.—Itm̃ p'd for crochons.....ix^{d} Itm̃ p'd for beryng theym.....ij^{d}
Itm̃ for beryng the cressetts vj^{d} 1525.—Itm̃ for beryng matches ij^{d}
1526.—Itm̃ for beryng the bettings ij^{d} 1555.—p'd for a newe cressyt ij^{s} iiij^{d}
1555.—payd for iiij ston of lyght..ij^{s} viij^{d} p'd for beryng iij cressyts..vj^{d}
1561.—Itm̃ for carryinge ij cressites & iij stone of lyght .....ij^{s}

BUTCHERS' ACCOUNTS.

1563.—p'd to the cressett berars on mydsom^{r} evyn.....iiij^{d}

DYERS' ACCOUNTS.

1519.—It' payd for iiij new Cressetts .....v^{s} vj^{d}
1519.—It' payd for the bettyng to þe Cressetts.....iij^{s}
It' p'd to a man for beryng the bettyngs both nyghts .....iiij^{d}
1521.—It' payd for viij lĩ of pyche for the bettyngs to the Cressetts ....viij^{d}
It' payd for vj^{li} of Ressyn to the same .....vj^{d}
It' payd for ij Stoon of bettings more for the Cressetts .....ix^{d}
1522.—It' p'd for vj ston of bettyngs .....ij^{s} ij^{d}
1529.—It' p'd for the clooth of a surplis[t] for them þ^{t} bayre the Cressetts x^{d}
It' p'd for makyng of the surplys .....j^{d}
1554.—p'd to ij s?vers of the cressets .....iiij^{d}
1555.—p'd to Skyner þ^{e} smyth for a new cressett & all þ^{e} olde cressetts to bote..xx^{d} p'd to coxe þ^{e} caryar for iij new cressetts..vij^{s} x^{d}

[s] 1452.—torche berers (inter alia) 1478.—for makyng of iiij torches....iij^{s} 1530.—for iiij torches....vj^{s} vj^{d} All for Midsummer and St. Peter's nights.

[t] 1453 and 1468.—Four Surplices occur in Inventories of the Companies' Goods, classed with Armour, Pencels, &c.

The term "bettyng" applied to the cresset-light, occurs only here and in the Accounts of the Carpenters' Company: in the other Books, it bears the different appellations of the *wreath*, the *puddings* and *pudding-ropes*, *crochons* and *matches:* in one instance the person carrying the cresset-light is called the *pannier bearer*, and an item occurs in the Drapers' Accounts for 1534, of a *bag* for the cresset-light. In the Trinity Gild Accounts, anno 1521, and for several subsequent years, are the following items:—

for making of ij lĩ of betyng candle .....ij^{d}
p'd for betyng candle for bablake [Chapel].....xj^{d}

In the Smiths' Accounts for 1478, occurs a charge for "half a lĩ of betyng candills··iiij^{d}"; and in Peshall's History of Oxford, p. 217, the following item is given from the Archives of St. Giles's Church:—

1530.—a pound of Betars for Judas light 6^{d} at St Nicholas day.

The Saxon word bẏtt, signifies a vessel or receptacle in general; and thus considered, may not the *bytt* of the cresset mean the socket, and the "bettyng" be the short pieces put into it; in contradistinction to the puddings or wreath which were twisted round a pin in another sort of cressets? So "betyng Candles" may be explained, being probably used for the same purposes.

Mr. Douce describes the light used for the open cressets to be "a wreathed rope, smeared with pitch," and the only specific mention of the materials for cresset-light discovered in the Coventry Accounts, is in the above instance, viz. 1521.—8lb. of pitch and 6lb. of rosin. The terms wreath, puddings and pudding-ropes, are all expressive of this description of supply for them; and on reference to the print of the Cappers' cresset (plate 9), the pin in centre of the bowl, round which the wreathed rope was twined, affords a satisfactory illustration of this mode of lighting. From the few particular items respecting cressets which are collected in the present Dissertation, it seems that the open one was generally used at Coventry; and indeed this sort appears to be better calculated for Processions, than that described by Mr. Douce as "a hollow pan filled with combustibles," and of which a representation is given in the plate, vol. ii., p. 401, of his above-mentioned work.

The *pannier* and *bag*, for carrying a supply of cresset-light, may be again noticed, by way of filling up the minutiæ of this ancient custom. *Matches* are easily referred for an explanation to the modern article of that name used in gunnery; but the term *crochons* remains without a conjecture as to its etymology.

The cresset-bearers, it appears, wore surplices; at least those set forth by

the Dyers' Company did; and it is reasonable to conclude that in so prominent a feature of the Procession there would be uniformity preserved, as was the case with their hats, which were made of straw:—

1509.—"It' for iiij hats of strawe.....vj^{d}" *Dyers' Accounts.*

Judas Torches.

Besides the *Cresset*, there was a certain description of Torches used in Processions by our ancestors (for which purpose they seem to have been particularly well calculated), though sometimes forming a part of the Church furniture of the period: these were called *Judas Torches*, apparently from a peculiar sort of stand for them, so named; as will appear in the items subjoined. The few casual notices of these Torches that have hitherto met the public eye, have either been passed over without remark, or evidently misunderstood.

In the Church Wardens' Accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, (as published in "Illustrations of the Manners & Expences of Antient Times,") is the following entry:—

1524.—Item paid for twelve *Judacis* to stand with the Tapers .....2s.

"All-hallows," (London Wall), says Mr. Malcolm, in his Londin. Red. vol. ii. p. 66, "contained a rood loft, and a representation of Judas in it, which was painted for 13d. in 1455."

The same writer, vol. ii. p. 20, describes the rood loft at All-hallows Staining to have "contained a large crucifix, surrounded during the celebration of the offices with 22 burning tapers, weighing 67lb. The cross candle weighed 1¾lb. *Judas*[u] *taper* 1lb."

The "12 Judacis" at St. Margaret's, Westminster, were obviously stands to hold the tapers, since we cannot suppose images were made at only 2d. each. It is equally evident that the "Judas" in All-hallows' rood loft, was the Judas Taper, the stand of which, and not "a representation of Judas," was painted, possibly the taper also, (see Smiths' Accounts, next page.) Mr. Malcolm's own account of the rood loft at All-hallows, Staining, might have corrected the error.

The copious extracts which follow, if they do not sufficiently describe and explain both the nature and application of the Judas Torches, will, it is hoped,

[u] 1560.—payd for foure pounde of waxe to make the pascall, and the *indythe* lyght..iiij^{s}. [Surely "*indythe*" is a misreading for *Judithe* or *Judas*.] payd for makynge of the same..iiij^{d}. *Harwood's Lichfield*, p. 525.

35th Henry VIII.—Item for a new *judas* for the pascall.....iiij^{d} *Boys' Sandwich.*

direct the attention of competent judges to this hitherto unnoticed subject, before the few remaining traces of it are dispersed or perished :—

CAPPERS' ACCOUNTS.

1485.—payed for tember & the makyng of iiij Judassus for the torchis..xiij^{d}
1485.—It' p'd ffor platus to þe Judassus off Iron .....viij^{d}
It' p'd ffor revettyng of þe plats & for þe iiij boultes .....x^{d} ob.
It' p'd ffor iiij new torchis that weygeth xxvj^{lb} at iij^{d} lĩ .....vj^{s} viij^{d}

SMITHS' ACCOUNTS.

1476.—Itm̃ a new bolle to the Judas .....ij^{d}
1487.—Itm̃ for iiij new torchis to & peyntyng off the Judasses.....v^{s} ix^{d}
1516.—It' payd for iiij Judasses.....iiij^{s}
1450.—It' payed for makyng of iiij new torchis & stoff þ^{r}to.....x^{s}
It' þ^{e} torch berrers.....viij^{d}
1478.—It' payd for a torche of xiiij^{li} & đi .....iij^{s} vj^{d}
1498.—Itm̃ paid ffor ix^{li} wax for ou^{r} Torches .....iiij^{s} vj^{d}
Itm̃ p'd ffor a doss' rossen vj^{d} Itm̃ ffor wyke & workmanshipe ij^{s} viij^{d}
1489.—It' for iiij chyldren þ^{t} bar? Torches & spers.....iiij^{d}
1461.—It' for ij chyldern for to bere the ij torches.....ij^{d}
It' for ij stree hattys for þ^{e} chyldern .....ij^{d}

CARPENTERS' ACCOUNTS.

1481.—It' payd for stuff of þ^{e} judass^{s}.....ij^{d}
It' payd for workmanship.....vj^{d} It' payd for iiij platys.....xj^{d}
1450.—payd for wax & makyng of þ^{e} Torches ayenst Corpus xp̃i tyde vj^{s} viij^{d}
1452.—Expens? for Torches, xxx lĩ Wax þ lĩ v^{d} ob .....xiij^{s} ix^{d}
It' j dos' Resen .....xxj^{d} payd for the makyng .....iij^{s} iiij^{d}
1505.—It' payd for iij^{li} wax to dobbe þ^{e} torches .....xviij^{d}
It' payd for Rosyn & gõm to þ^{e} same.....viij^{d}
It' payd for dobbyng v torches....vij^{d} Itm̃ p'd ffor a pensyll....iiij^{d}
1512.—payd for vj pencels & the peyntyng of them .....viij^{d}
1518.—It' payd for the newe Jodas torches.....vj^{s} viij^{d}

TRINITY GILD ACCOUNTS.

1469.—Itm̃ Johĩ Exale for peyntyng iiij judassys.....iij^{s}

1469.—Itm̃ eidm̃ for xij pensells to þ^e same .....xij^d
Itm̃ sol' for clothe for the pensells .....ij^d ob.
1537.—It' peyntyng of iiij Judas torches .....xvj^d
1532.—Itm̃ iiij Judas torches .....vij^s viij^d
(The weight is frequently expressed, and varies from 26 to 30lb.)

The following items from the same Accounts may serve to illustrate the present subject, if they are not actually connected with it:—

1461.—Itm̃ ꝑ ij claspys ferri ꝑ le case Torticus ꝑ missa Trinitat̃.....ij^d
Itm̃ ꝑ peyntyng ejusdm̃ case.....ij^d
1472.—It' paied to Thom̃s Gardinar for the payntyng of xij baners for the torches ordeigned aȝenst Trinite Sonday þ'e le peese iij^d smã..iij^s
It' paied for an eln of canvas to the same .....v^d
It' paied for the Spers to the same & peyntyng of hem .....vj^d

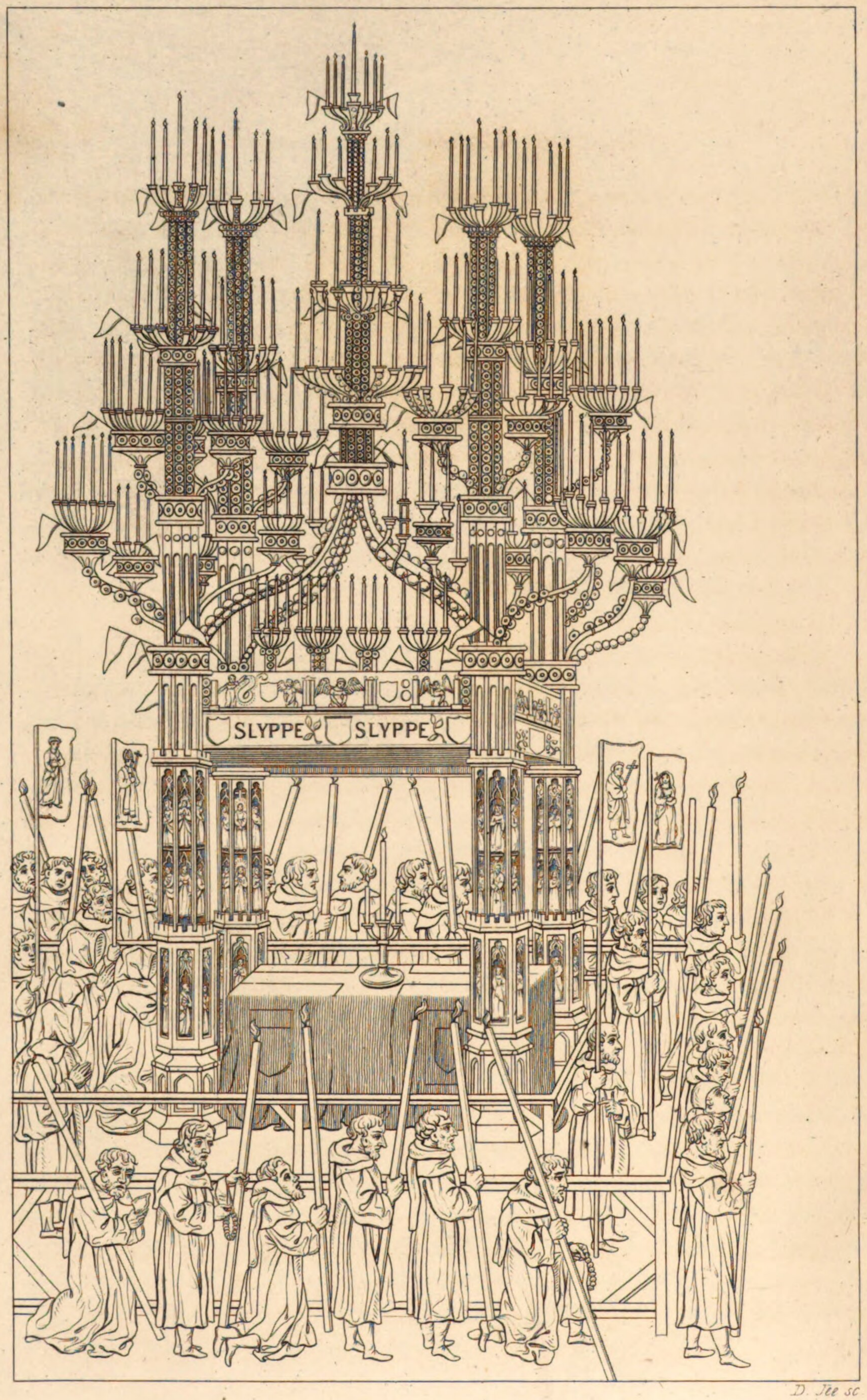
DYERS' ACCOUNTS.

In 1453, "xij pencells for torches" were delivered to the ensuing Master; and in a similar list of the "Crafts Goods" in 1468, occur the following items:—

xij newe pencells for the torches & iiij newe torches & iiij judasses & the bolles & iiij surplis & iiij stre hatts.

1468.—payd for yernewerk to our torches .....iij^s iiij^d
payd for iiij torches of xxxij^li le lĩ v^d .....xiij^s iiij^d
peid for xij newe pencells & payntyng of hem .....iij^s vj^d
peyd for iiij judasses for our torches .....iiij^s iiij^d
1489.—It' for peyntyng and ꝟneshyng of the judasses for the torches....viij^d
1520.—p'd for iiij new Judaces .....v^s iiij^d
1503.—It' for Cloth for the penselys..iiij^d peynteyng of þ^e penselys..ij^s v^d

A considerable degree of information respecting the Judas Torches is afforded by the above items from the Dyers' Accounts; from whence we learn that there were three pencels to each Judas, as was the case with those of the Trinity Gild. The bearers wore surplices; and it may not be irrelevant to observe here, that this circumstance probably owes its origin to the Companies forming a part of the Corpus Christi Procession, wherein, as the torch-bearers of the Religious were habited in surplices, we may conclude that for uniformity of appearance, those belonging to the Laity were clad in like manner: that such was the case with respect to this Company, has been shewn under its proper head.



D. Jee sc.

PART OF THE FUNERAL SOLEMNITY OF ABBOT ISLIP.

From the Vetusta Monumenta.

Coventry Published by Merridew & Son. July 1. 1825.

The preceding extracts generally, shew the frequent and regular use of the Judas Torches in public Processions, and the materials of which they were composed; some idea may also be formed of the Judasses or Stands: those belonging to the Trinity Gild were decorated with little Banners (three to each Judas,) fixed upon small Spears, which must have so much heightened their effect in Processions, that it is matter of surprise the practice was not adopted by the City Companies. [v] By what means, and through what gradations, Judasses and their proper Torches upon a reduced scale, came to be used in Churches, is an enquiry not requisite in this place; they were principally (if not altogether) fixed and stationary in such instances, and no longer processional.

Perhaps it may be expected that some conjecture should be offered as to the origin of the term; and no derivation has occurred to the writer more probable than the circumstance recorded in St. John's Gospel, chap. xviii. v. 3.:—"Judas then, having received a band of men, and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns, and *torches*, and weapons." Various ancient engravings of this subject have been consulted, in the hope of discovering some peculiar kind of Torches borne by Judas or his attendants; but in no instance has Judas been seen represented carrying a light: and it is proper to observe also, that Cressets and variously-formed Lanterns, *not torches*, have been borne by the attendants.

v In the third compartment of the drawing on a vellum roll, representing the death and funeral of Abbot Islip, (engraved plate 18, vol. iv. "Vetusta Monumenta,") "appears the abbot's coffin in the choir before the high altar, under a magnificent canopy, on the upper part of which are a great number of branches of tapers, surrounded by men in gowns and hoods bearing long torches; on the corners are four, bearing banners of saints; at one end of the coffin appear three of the mourners."

These "branches of tapers" are decorated with *little pencels* [or *banners*] (a fact omitted to be noticed in the description,) and furnish a very satisfactory elucidation of the mode of ornamenting the Judas Torches before mentioned (see pl. 10.) The following item in the official account of the funeral, preserved in the Herald's College, throws additional light upon the subject:—"And at thentrye of the seid Monasterye th' abbot of Bury wt. his assist'unts did receve the seid Corps and so p'ceaded into the Quere where hit was sett undre a goodlye Herse wt. manye lights and matie and Vallaunce set wt. pencells and double barriers wt. fourmes hanged wt. blacke clothe and garnysshed wt. Scoocheons of Arms and the Quere likewise and so the morners toke theyre places".

"Order for a funeral for a noble person in the reign of Henry VII.:—
Item, xij scochons of his armes, to be sett upon the barres, without and within the hearse, and iij dozen *penselles*, to stand aboven upon the herse amongst the lightes."—*Strutt's Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 160.

"Thinges necessarie to be had at the Enterment of a Knight:—
Item, Four branches, or a herse, garnished with *pencelles*."—*Idem*, p. 163.

"The Painters Bill:—Item, Fower dozen of *pensells* for the braunches &c. . . 48s.—*Idem*, p. 164.

Recurring again to Stowe, the following portion of his description next presents itself for elucidation, comprising most of the prominent and characteristic features of this ancient custom still remaining to be noticed:—

"The marching watch contained in number 2000 men, part of them being old Souldiers, of skill to bee Captaines, Lieutenants, Serjeants, Corporals, &c. Wifflers, Drummers and Fifes, Standard and Ensigne bearers, Sword-players, Trumpeters on horsebacke, Demilaunces on great horses, Gunners with handguns, or halfe hakes, Archers in cotes of white fustian, signed on the brest and backe with the Armes of the City their bowes bent in their hands, with sheafes of arrowes by their sides, Pikemen in bright Corslets, Burganets &c Holbards, the like Billmen in Almaine Rivets, and Aperns of Mayle in great number."

The illustrations of this extract may be arranged under three heads, viz.:—*Armed Men*, *Standards* or *Streamers*, and *Drums*, *Fifes*, *&c.*

Armed Men.

It has already been observed, that both the Smiths' and Drapers' Companies usually[w] set forth four Men in Armour; the Carpenters' and Cappers' two each; the Dyers' six, and sometimes eight; and the Butchers' six; the particulars of which will be seen in the following items from the Accounts of those Companies:

CARPENTERS' ACCOUNTS.

1450.—It' p'd for skowryng of j salet .....iij^{d}
It' p'd to þ^{e} armed mon.....ij^{d} poynts.....j^{d}
1455 & 1457.—It' for the dyghtyng of a sallet .....iiij^{d} (at Midsummer)
1554.—p'd for bearyng the harnes .....iiij^{d} (two suits)
1559.—p'd for carryinge ij harnys (inter alia) (at Midsummer)

CAPPERS' ACCOUNTS.

1539.—It' p'd to ij men that bare whyt cotts .....xiiij^{d} (at Midsummer)

SMITHS' ACCOUNTS.

1449.—Itm̃ p'd for [hire of] ij armor.....iij^{s} iiij^{d}

[w] In 1559, the Smiths (after the Watch on St. Peter's night was discontinued,) provided four Men who *rode*, and two *Footmen*; and in 1564, seven Men. The Drapers also in 1534, had eight Men armed in the Marching Watch, viz.: four in complete Armour, and four in Almayn Rivetts; the latter always were on foot.

1449.—St. Peter.—Itm̃ p'd ij men for goyng in þ^e harnes .....viij^d
It' ij sperberrers..ij^d iij men for goyng in þ^e harnes..xij^d
Mids^r—It' iiij sp berrers.....iiij^d It' blakebuccram to þ^e sps.....vij^d
It' ij dosen poyntts ....iiij^d (1484, armynge poyntes)
1468.—It̃ for the hyr of iiij whyt harnys vj^s viij^d for beyryng of them xvj^d
It' beyryng of iiij speyres iiij^d iiij hatts for the speyre beyrers j^d
payd for payntyng of the speyre chafts freshe .....xxiij^d
payd for iiij newe pencells at london .....viij^s
1472.—assady & redde wax to mende the Crests at seynt peters tyde ..ij^d ob.
Expñs ayenest midsomer nyght Inprimis Assady to the Crests vj^d
ij synnap^s [cinnabar, red] papuos ij Grene papuos & a g^olde pap^s viij^d
Red wax Rossen & white pap^s ij^d ob. makyng the Crests newe xvj^d
1473.—for hyre of iiij Crestis to John Yale[x] ..xvj^d mendyng of crests iij^d
1481.—It' paid for hyr of hewkus[y] & crests.....iiij^d
1482.—It' p'd for dyghtyng of speyrs & axis.....iiij^d
1499.—It' to Jorneymen þ^t ware the harness & for poynts.....xj^d St. Peter's
1502.—Itm̃ p'd for castyng of our mayll .....iiij^d St. John's
1504.—Itm̃ pd̃ for skoryng off the maylle & the salletts (inter alia) St. John's
1554.—p'd for iiij complet harnes men .....xvj^d
p'd for [wearing] ij almayne Ryvets .....iiij^d
1559.—It' to two harnes men on fote iiij^d to iiij harnes men that Rode xvj^d
1560.—Itm̃ for a horse.....vj^d Itm̃ horsebred for two horses.....iiij^d
1564.—Itm̃ payd to vij harnys men .....ij^s iiij^d

DRAPERS' ACCOUNTS.

1534 & Itm̃ for iiij men þ^t bare whyt harnes on seynt Johñ and seynt
1537.— pet^s nyghts....ij^s viij^d Itm̃ iiij beryng almayne revetts....xvj^d
1535.—Itm̃ payd to iiij men werryng complyt harnys bothe nyghts....ij^s viij^d
the charge & payments ffor the watche at mydsom^r
1555.—payd to xviij gonnarys[z] lxij^s iiij^d payd for xij^li of gonepother xij^s vj^d
1556.—payd to xiiij gonnars & a lakye lix^s xij lĩ of gonnepowther xiiij^s

x Yale was at this period Manager of the Smiths' Pageant, by contract.

y HEWKE—*Huque*, Fr. signifies a certain description of mantle or short cloke; but in the present instance, no such article seems to be required.

z The Master of the Company was then Mayor, in compliment to whom this expensive change, by introducing "gonnarys", was first made.

1557.—p'd for a longe sorde & the skorynge.....xij^{d}
p'd for xv gonnes & a flag berer & ij lakes.....iiij^{li} xvj^{s} iiij^{d}
p'd for xvij lĩ gonpow^{r}.....xxj^{s} iiij^{d}

BUTCHERS' ACCOUNTS.

1563.—p'd for harnessyng vj men on mydsom^{r} evyn.....ij^{s}

DYERS' ACCOUNTS.

1468.—Expeñs to speke for speyres pencells & odur thyngus .....iiij^{s} j^{d} ob
(Midsummer Night, Bread, Ale, Spices, Wine, Armour and bearing the same, costs 25s. 8d.)
payd for bukram for ij pencells .....x^{d}
peid for steynyng [a] & payntyng of baners & spers.....vij^{s} iiij^{d}
paid for frynge & bells to the baners & sperhedis .....ij^{s} iij^{d}
peid for speyr chafts & bukrame .....ij^{s} iij^{d}
1470.—It' for beyryng of speyrs & torches.....vj^{d}
1477.—It' p'd for a bell to the sper .....iij^{d}
1503.—It' for Cloth for the penselys iiij^{d} It' peynteyng of þ^{e} penselys ij^{s} v^{d}

In 1453, xij pencells for torches were delivered to the ensuing Master; and in a list of the "Crafts Goods", so delivered in 1468, occur the following items:

ij newe speyres w^{t} newe pencells & ij hedes of steel & ij laton bells xij newe pencells for the torches & iiij newe torches & iiij judasses & the bolles & iiij surplis & iiij stre hatts & ij cote armurres.

The Company of Dyers furnished two Men in white or complete armour, with two attendant spear-bearers, and occasionally three, five, and sometimes six Men in Brigandines.

By the foregoing extracts, it appears that the Marching Watch was chiefly composed of men in bright armour, "whyt cotts or whyt harneys"; and from the copious entries in the Account Books of the Smiths' Company, we learn that Spears, "dighted" with black buckram, were carried in the Procession by children, [b] one attending upon each armed man, and bearing his Spear. A charge of

[a] I observe, that *staining* is the term usually applied when cloth or silk is painted, but *painting* to wood or iron.

[b] 1489.—paid for ij chyldren ffor beryng speris..ij^{d}. *Smiths' Accounts.*

Hats for these spear-bearers occurs; and from the smallness of the sum, it may be conjectured they were straw hats, such being worn by the cresset-bearers, as is shewn in the preceding pages. The manner of "dighting" the spears is decisively explained by the preceding extracts, selected for this express purpose from the Accounts of the Dyers' Company: a small bell was suspended from the spear head, and underneath a pencel or little banner of buckram, painted and fringed.

In the Smiths' Accounts, there is likewise a charge for "dyghtyng of axis" [battle-axes], and the Crests of the armed men were ornamented with gilt and coloured paper, in a manner similar to Herod's Crest in their Pageant (see p. 29, ante.) In the same Accounts, for 1559, first occurs a specific mention of part of the men being mounted on horses; the number is four, agreeing with the previous regular supply of this Company; and as the two men on foot received only half the accustomed allowance for wearing their armour, it seems reasonable to suppose that these were now first added, and that heretofore, as in the present instance, the four rode: especially as the same gross amount (xx^{d}) is afterwards regularly paid for wearing Harness, though without the distinction made in the Accounts for 1559, and to be found in that year only. Perhaps this conjecture is strengthened by the first extract from the Drapers' Accounts, where four men wearing "whyt" or "complyt harnys" received double the pay given to those wearing "Almayne revetts". Horses might in general be gratuitously furnished by the most opulent members of the Companies, which would account for the want of items in their expences elucidative of this point. At all events, a difference of one-half in the wages of the armour-wearers is shewn, from whatever cause it originated; whether in the kind of armour worn, or the wearers being horse or foot-men. From the very considerable expence attending the *Gunners* introduced by the Drapers' Company, it may be concluded that they were trained soldiers; and the liberal supply of powder leads to an inference that they made very frequent discharges.

The "longe sorde", 1557, was probably for the Commander of the Gunners, as there is no evidence of "Sword-players" (as enumerated by Stowe,) being provided by any of these Companies; though it may be remarked, that in the Harl. MS. before cited, in the enumeration of the Lord Mayor's attendants are to be found "two swordeplayers with long swordes". The "ton-swoord" of Captain Cox (which he flourished at the head of the Coventry men, in 1574, when playing their Hox Tuesday Shew before Queen Elizabeth, at Kenilworth,) will here naturally recur to the reader's mind.

Standards or Streamers.

CAPPERS' COMPANY.

1544.—payd for beryng þ^e^ stremars iiij^d^ 1548.—beryng þ^e^ ij streamers iiij^d^

DRAPERS' COMPANY.

1534.—It' p'd to þ^e^ stremerberers [4] xvj^d^ 1560.—caryng iiij stremers (inter alia)

SMITHS' COMPANY.

1452.—Expeñs for þ^e^ baners ij ell cloþ^e^....xix^d^ It' for ffrenge....iiij^s^ vj^d^
It' for steyny'g of hem..xiij^s^ iiij^d^ It' bokaryn..ij^d^ It' j Crosse..xvj^d^
1487.—Itm̃ p^a^d ffor dyttyng off the pencells.....xxij^d^
1489.—Itm̃ paid ffor iij yardus Rede bokeram ffor our standarts pce ij^s^ vj^d^
Itm̃ paid to the stener [painter] ffor workemanship ther off....x^s^ viij^d^
Itm̃ p'd for xij yards ffrenge xvij^d^ Itm̃ settyng on of the ffrenge iiij^d^
It' paid for shavyng of þ^e^ standarts .....iiij^d^
1491.—payd ffor beryng the standarts.....ij^d^
1495.—payd to the stondard beyrres & ffor poyntes .....xj^d^
1500.—ffor berryng off the stremerus .....ij^d^
1546, and subsequently, four Bearers receive 8d.

DYERS' COMPANY.

1483.—It' for mendynge þ^e^ deys?s ban? .....x^d^
1496.—It' payd for beryng the ij stremers on mydsomer nyght.....ij^d^
Md thys byn they Costs of the makyng of the ij New streymers
ffirst iij ellen & đ of lynyn cloth .....iij^s^ j^d^
It' p'd for halff ellen of blak bokrem for to put in the sper hedys ij^d^ ob.
It' payd for xviij yards đ of ffryng.... .....xviij^d^
It' payd to John Herll for the bryngyn of they dey?s Arms of
London that byn peyntyd in the same stremers .....viij^d^
It' payd to Harre peynter for hys costs of peyntyng.....xxx^s^
1517.—It' payed to ij yongmen for beyryng þ^e^ streymers bothe nyghts..iiij^d^

These items so clearly shew the number of Standards or Streamers displayed by the different Companies, the wages paid for carrying them, and the nature of their fabric, that any further observations (after remarking that the earliest instance in these Accounts of their being called Streamers is in 1496,) would be quite superfluous.

Drums, Fifes, Waifflers, &c.

These being the terms used by Stowe, are retained, though in the Coventry entries the word *Minstrels* is generally adopted.

CAPPERS' COMPANY.

1534.—Midsummer.—Itm̃ pd̄ ffor two menstrells .....iiij^{d}
1539. Itm̃ p'd to the menstrells xiiij^{d} And for St. Peter's viij^{d}
1540.—Itm̃ pd̄ to ij menstrells of myssymor even and myssymor nyght and sent peters nyght.....ij^{s} viij^{d}
1542.—Midsummer.—It' p'd the mynstrell iij^{s} iiij^{d} p'd at hyryng hym ij^{d}
1543.—p'd to the mynstrell for S^{t} peters nyght .....ij^{s}
1544.—Midsummer.—payd to iij mynstrells .....vj^{s} viij^{d}
1547.—p'd to þ^{e} minstrell for bothe nyghts .....iij^{s} iiij^{d}

The minstrel for Midsummer Eve received 3s. 4d. in 1549, two minstrels were paid 5s. in 1541, and 6s. in 1554 and 1555.

CARPENTERS' COMPANY.

1450.—Itm̃ pd̄ to j mynstrall .....xiiij^{d}
1451.—Midsummer & St. Peter.—It' paid to þe mynstrelles .....vj^{d}
1456.—It' paid to Robr$\tilde{t}$ harp$_{c}$ for midsom^{r} ny3t & pet^{s} ny3t.....xiiij^{d}
1467.—Mids^{r} & St. Peter.—to metcalf & banbreke for mynstrellesi ..ij^{s}
1478.—It' þe mynstrells on S^{t} john & petyrs ny3t .....ij^{s} viij^{d}
1485.—It' þe mynstrell at midsom^{r} & seynt pet^{s} tyde.....xviij^{d}
1559.—to the ij mynstryls xvj^{d} (Midsummer only, the Watch on St. Peter's Night being discontinued by Act of Leet, 1549.)

The payment for Midsummer and St. Peter's Eve, 1505, was 4s.; in 1528, 13d.; and in 1532, for two minstrels, 22d.

SMITHS' COMPANY.

1449.—St. Peter.—Itm̃ þ^{e} mynstrell....vij^{d} Mids.—Itm̃ þ^{e} harp^{r} .....ix^{d}
1450. Itm̃ ij harp$^{?s}$ .....xj^{d}

c In 1453, Robert Crudworth, harper, was admitted a Member of the Company; he is here, according to the common practice of the times, called Robert Harper, from his profession.

1451.—St. Peter.—Itm̃ þ^e mynstrell....vj^d Mids^r.—Itm̃ þ^e harp^r .....xij^d
1468. Itm̃ to þ^e mynstrell xx^d Itm̃ to þ^e mynstrell xl^d
1471. It' ij mynstrelles ..xx^d It' ij mynstrells ij^s ij^d
1474.—Midsummer.—Itm̃ to ij mynstrelles for melody .....iij^s iiij^d
1498.—St. Peter.—Itm̃ paid to a mynstrell for þ^t nyght be sid ou^r. owen[d] vj^d
1545.—St. John's.—Itm̃ to the waytts xvj^d 1551.—to the menstrells iij^s iiij^d

DRAPERS' COMPANY.

1555.—Itm̃ payd for playnge wyght the slage[e] .....vj^s viij^d
Itm̃ payd for the hyryng of the slage.....viij^d
Itm̃ payd for ij dromys iij^s Itm̃ payd ffor paynttyng of a drome xiij^d
1556.—payd for the Slage & playnge to Thomas Shawe .....xx^s
payd for playng upon the dromes .....iiij^s
1557.—payd for a fluett & drome....ij^s iiij^d payd for a wysseler[f] .....xij^d

DYERS' COMPANY.

1482.—It' to þ^e ij mynstrells at mydsom^r .....viij^d
1494.—It' p'd to the menestrells on boeth nygts .....xvj^d
1552.—Midsummer.—p'd ij mynstrells..ij^s 1559.—p'd the mynstrell..ij^s

Before making any remark on the above items, it may be necessary to observe that Stowe mentions a *Standing Watch* "all in bright harnesse", as well as the *Marching Watch*, described in the extract, p. 176, which is the subject of our present investigation. Whether such a distinction existed in Coventry, there is not sufficient data in the remaining Records positively to determine; although the terms *going in Harness, Spear-bearers, Streamer* and *Cresset-bearers*, &c. seem to describe a marching rather than a stationary body; and if we were disposed to conjecture that the men in complete or bright harness composed the Standing, and those in Almayne Rivets the Marching Watch, an irresistible objection presents itself in the extracts from the Smiths' Accounts, sub. ann. 1554 and 1559, in the last of which we find that the four men harnessed who *rode*, were those

[d] Various entries prove that this Company had their *own Minstrel.*

[e] A kind of Kettle-Drum.

[f] Such is the spelling in the Drapers' Accounts, where it evidently means a performer on a Fife or Flute, and differs from the "Wifflers" mentioned by Stowe, who were officers walking first in public processions, and respecting whom the reader will find a curious dissertation in Douce's "Illustrations of Shakspeare," vol. i. p. 507.

wearing complete or bright armour, and the *footmen* Almayn Rivets, a description of persons specifically enumerated by Stowe as composing part of the Marching Watch: from all which circumstances, and the general tenor of the Companies' Books, it seems most reasonable to conclude, that there was not a Standing and Marching Watch too, in Coventry.

In the preceding extracts, Minstrels and every species of musical accompaniments to the Watch, are arranged under one head: of their situation and distribution each evening we have no information. Stowe only enumerates *Wifflers, Drummers, Fifes and Trumpeters;* but this being altogether *military music,* either he described the manner in which the Watch was conducted during the latter years of its continuance, or otherwise the practice in Coventry was different from that in London; for until 1555, when Gunners were first introduced, no mention is made of Drums, Wisslers, &c. but regular successive entries of payments to Minstrels, diversified only in the Smiths' Accounts by two items of Harpers, viz.: in 1449 and 1451, in each instance on Midsummer night; the celebration of which (by this Company at least) appears always to have been marked by an extraordinary degree of musical attendance: and in 1545, an item of payments to the "waytts" instead of minstrels. The like occurs again in 1559 and in 1562, after which time the Watch ceased.

There remain some further items to be noticed, which have only occurred in the Accounts of the Dyers' Company, and first in

1483.—It for Bukram to rolles.....iij^{d} It for steyning of þ^{e} rolles ....viij^{d}

1489.—It ffor renuing the chapeletts x^{d} 1509.—It for the schapletes ..x^{d}

These entries immediately follow the usual charges for bearing armour, torches, &c. on the *two nights;* and it must be recollected that the Dyers had no Pageant.

In the account of the Cappers' Pageant (p. 56,) will be found an entry of "rolles" similar to the above; and I feel much disposed to adopt the first explanation there given of this article of dress: since in a crowded Procession, conducted by torch-light, the heads and upper parts only of the persons walking in it would be distinguishable; and the "chaplets" above mentioned furnish an additional argument in favour of this opinion. Indeed, I am not without a suspicion that the rolls and chaplets were one and the same thing in effect, though bearing different names; and as the Torch-bearers wore Straw Hats and Surplices, perhaps it may be allowable to conjecture that these head-ornaments were used by the Spear-bearers.

Pageants, Giants, &c.

The Mayor's Watch, as described by Stowe, (see p. 178,) was attended by Minstrels, the City Waits,[g] Pageants, Morris-dancers, and a Giant; and the Sheriffs in like manner, "but not so large in number as the Maiors, for where the Maior had besides his Giant three Pageants, each of the Sheriffes had besides their Giant but two Pageants, each their morris dance", &c.

The only[h] record that has been discovered of *Pageants* and *Morris-dancers* forming part of the processional display at Coventry[i] on this occasion, is found in the Accounts of the Dyers' Company, of which the entire entry for 1554, is given with other extracts below. It is somewhat singular that none of the other Companies whose ancient Books have been preserved, appear to have contributed to this part of the Watch; and as the costs for Pageants, &c. at Chester, was defrayed out of the City[k] purse, it is not improbable that such was the case at Coventry; indeed it is difficult otherwise to account for the absence of charges under that head in the other Companies' Accounts, as it cannot be doubted that the Procession had its full share of Pageantic accompaniment. The Book containing payments by the Corporation at this period is wanting, so that the point cannot be fully cleared up.

DYERS' ACCOUNTS.

Costes on Midsomer Nyght

1554.—p'd for harnessyng ij men in complet harnesse .....viij^{d}
p'd for harnessyng iiij men in Almayne Ryvetts .....viij^{d}
p'd for ij stremer berers ....iiij^{d} p'd to iiij cressett berers.....viij^{d}
to ij s?vers of the cressetts iiij^{d} p'd for ij dossen points .....iiij^{d}
v stone of cressett lyght ij^{s} xj^{d} for mendyng the iiij cressetts x^{d}
p'd to John Swaneborn for the cloth that wentt to the hartts cote & for payntyng þ^{e} same cloth [and] p'd to the company that whent w^{t} the hartt & all that longith to hit.....vj^{s} viij^{d}

g WAITS—Fr. *Guét*, Watch. "Band of City Minstrels."—*Strutt.*

h 1542.—payde for þ^{e} pageant that was gyven to Mr Meire on mydsomer nyght off the crafte..xxxvj^{s} viij^{d}.
Drapers' Accounts.

This exhibition was exclusive of the regular Pageant, and appears to have been given in compliment to the Master of the Company, who was then Mayor.

i At Chester they had Pageant devices, Hobby-horses, Morris-dancers, and Giants.

k See Lyson's Cheshire, pp. 583-4, and Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. xxviii.

Costes on Mydsom[r] nyght (inter alia)

1555.—p'd for the hartts cote xx[d] p'd for carying þ[e] tree before þ[e] hartt iiij[d]
p'd to the dawnsers for daunsyng .....xij[d]
p'd for dressyng of the hartt & for mendyng the head .....x[d]
p'd to the heyrdman for blowyng before þ[e] hart.....iiij[d]
p'd to John Stuards s̄vand for leyding þ[e] hart .....iiij[d]
1560.—p'd for settyng forth þ[e] hartt .....vj[s] viij[d]
1563.—p'd to lynsey for the hartte.....v[s]

In the following year only two Armed Men were set out on Midsummer Night, and this appears to have been the last time the Watch was kept on that evening: the one on St. Peter's Night had been discontinued since 1549.

There were Giants carried in the Procession at Coventry, as appears from the following extracts from the Cappers' and Drapers' Accounts:—

GIANTS.

CAPPERS' ACCOUNTS.

1533.—Itm̃ payed for the Gyant .....xxvij[s] viij[d]
1534.—Itm̃ p'd for dressyng the gyant vj[d] Itm̃ p'd for beryng the gyant xij[d]
It' payde for naylls & corde..ij[d] It' p'd for pante .....j[d]
1540.—It' p'd for pentteng of þ[e] gyant .....v[s]
It' p'd for the candelsteke in hys hed & the lyght .....ij[d]
p'd for bereng of the gyant.....xvij[d]
1542.—p'd for *kepyng* þ[e] giant (inter alia)
1547.—beryng of þ[e] gyant ij nyghts ij[s] p'd for waxe candell for þ[e] gyant j[d]
It' p'd for canvas to make þ[e] gyeant a newe skorte .....ix[d]
It' payd for pentyng of þ[e] gyant .....iij[s] viij[d]
1548.—p'd for þ[e] gyeande (bearing) xvj[d] p'd for mendyng of þ[e] gyeande viij[d]
1549.—p'd for beryng þ[e] joyand xviij[d] for mendyng of hys head & arme xvj[d]
1551.—dressyng & mendyng of þ[e] gyeande .....xviij[d]
payd for a candell for þ[e] gyeande .....ij[d]
1553.—for mendyng þ[e] gyeand xxij[d] mendyng & payntyng þ[e] gyand ij[s] vj[d]

DRAPERS' ACCOUNTS.

1556.—payd to Robart Crowe for makyng of the gyanes.....xx[s]
1556.—payd to ij men for beryng of the gyenes .....xxij[d]

1557.—payd for payntyng of the gyenes wyffe .....ij^{s} iiij^{d}
payd for the beryng of the gyans wyffe .....xviij^{d}
1560.—payd for pentyng of the gyans wyffe .....ij^{s} vj^{d}
payd to endes for the waxe .....v^{s}

The practice of exhibiting gigantic figures in the Corpus Christi Procession has been already shewn (page 173,) in the account of that Festival, as celebrated at Valladolid in 1604. We also find mention of the same custom in the "Life of Friar Gerund," vol. i. p. 111, in the following note upon a passage wherein the author alludes to the boys going "after the giants and the serpent *i Tarasca* on the day of Corpus":—Note. "The figures of gigantic men and a large serpent are carried about on this day, by way of shewing the conquest of Christ over the powers of earth and hell. The Serpent is called *Tarasca*, say the etymologists, from Τερας, unde Τὸ Τεραστιου, & in plur. Τὰ Τεραστια, monstra, portenta, miracula."

In the account of the Spanish Corpus Christi Procession, it is stated that "First came 8 great Giants, three Men 3 Women and 2 Moors with a tabor and pipe playing and they dancing," from which we are led to infer that a person was concealed within each of the figures, whose movements caused it to dance: yet in the extract from the Life of Friar Gerund, and in all the Coventry items, as well as in the account of the Chester Giants, they are distinctly stated to have been borne or carried. The former mode appears unquestionably to be the preferable and most natural one; and as the terms bearing and going in armour are regularly used to express the wearing it, perhaps we may venture to conclude that such was the case with respect to the Giants. m

l A Dragon was introduced in the Chester Midsummer Eve Procession, as well as four Giants. Plot, in his "History of Oxfordshire," p. 356, mentions a custom at Burford, of carrying a Dragon "up and down the Town in great Jollity on Midsummer Eve, to which I know not for what Reason [says he] they added a Gyant". This custom he supposes to have been instituted in memory of a battle fought near Burford in 750, wherein Ethelbald King of Mercia, was overthrown, and lost his Banner, on which was depicted a golden Dragon; but it evidently was nothing more than the usual Midsummer Eve celebration.

m In the summer of 1814, the writer saw at Salisbury a figure of a Man, ten or twelve feet high, belonging to the Taylors' Company, and called St. Christopher (by the common people termed *the Giant*). This was exhibited in the various streets, attended by two men grotesquely habited, bearing his Sword and Club; a Drum and Fife played tunes, to which the figure was made to dance in a solemn unwieldy manner, by a man concealed within, and perfectly hidden by its long drapery. The attendants danced around the Giant, watching carefully to check by the Sword or Club any deviation from a perpendicular position.

In the old Play by Marston, called "The Dutch Courtezan", we read:— "Yet all will scarce make me so high as one of the Gyant's stilts that stalks before my Lord Maiors Pageants". And Puttenham, in his "Arte of English Poesie", 4to. 1589, p. 128, speaks of "Midsommer Pageants in London, where to make the people wonder, are set forth great and uglie Gyants, marching as if they were alive, and armed at all points, but within they are stuffed full of brown paper and tow, which the shrewd boyes, underpeering, do guilefully discover and turne to a greate derision".

The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Andrew Hubbard parish, in London, for the years 1533 and 1535, contain these items, which in all probability refer to the Midsummer Pageants of the parish:—

Receyved for the Jeyantt· ·xix^{d} Receyvyd for the Jeyantt· ·ij^{s} viij^{d}

In a very rare and diminutive work, in 2 vols. 64mo. printed 1741, and entitled "The Gigantick History of the two famous Giants in Guildhall, London," it is stated that "Before the present Giants inhabited Guildhall, there were two giants made only of wicker-work and pasteboard, put together with great art and ingenuity: and these two terrible original giants had the honour yearly to grace my Lord Mayor's shew, being carried in great triumph in the time of the pageants; and when that eminent annual service was over, remounted their old stations in Guildhall—till by reason of their very great age, old Time, with the help of a number of city *rats* and *mice*, had eaten up all their entrails."

Hone's Ancient Mysteries Described, 8vo. 1823, p. 226.

In consequence of the Chester Giants and Pageants being destroyed or decayed, through disuse and neglect during the period of the Commonwealth, it became necessary on the revival of the "Midsummer Shew" in 1661, to make "all things new, by reason the ould modells were broken", and we learn from the estimate [n] for restoring them, what was the charge, with many other interesting particulars:—

"For finding all the materials, with the workmanship of the four great giants, all to be made new, as neer as may be lyke as they were before, at five pounds a giant, the least that can be, and four men to carry them at two shillings and sixpence each".

These enormous figures were composed of "hoops of various magnitudes, and other productions of the cooper, deal boards, nails, pasteboard, scale board,

[n] Strutt and Lyson's, from the Harleian MSS. 2159, 2150, 2125, &c.

paper of various sorts, with buckram, size cloth, and old sheets for their bodies, sleeves and shirts, which were to be coloured; also tinsille, tinfoil, gold and silver leaf, and colours of different kinds, with glue and paste in abundance."

To guard against one of the causes which led to the destruction of their former suit of Giants, the following most laughable item occurs:—

"For arsnick to put into the paste to save the giants from being eaten by the rats, one shilling and fourpence."

We find likewise an entry of one pair of "oulde sheets" to cover the father and mother Giants, and three yards of buckram for the mother's and daughter's hoods.

The first interruption in the exhibition of the Chester Giants happened in 1599, when, amongst other innovations made by the Mayor, Henry Hardware, "a godly and zealous man," he caused "the gyauntes in the midsomer show to be broken & not to goe". In 1601, they were, however, "sett out" again, and the Shew, after being entirely suspended during the reign of puritanism, was revived and fully restored in 1661, at an expence of £45. 9s. 8d. This revival continued until 1670, when an order was made for removing the Shew from Midsummer to Whit Tuesday; and by another Order of the Corporation, in 1678, this ancient custom, which is recorded to have commenced in 1497 or 8, (and at that time was doubtless connected with the Midsummer Watch,[o]) became entirely abolished.

The Giants exhibited by the Drapers' Company in Coventry, were both male and female (a Giant and his wife:) no distinction of sex is expressed in the Cappers' Accounts; but we learn from them a very curious fact, viz: that a candlestick was put into the head of their Giant, containing a wax candle: and when it is recollected that both the Processions were made by night, a light within the head of the figure, it is easy to conceive, might be so contrived as to exhibit the goggle-eyes and terrific looks of the Giant, with greatly heightened effect. A

[o] This is decisively proved by Harleian MSS. 1968-9, being particulars of an Agreement betwixt Sir Lawrence Smith, Mayor of Chester, and two Artists, to paint and have in "readiness, with all furniture thereto belonging, four gyants, one unicorne, one dromedarye, one luce, one camell, one asse, one dragon, six hobbye horses and sixteen naked boys: and the same being in readines, shall beare or carry, or cause to be borne and carryed, *during the Watche* [on St. John's Eve], from place to place, accordinge as the same have been used", &c.

Sir Lawrence Smith was thrice chosen Mayor, viz.: 1558, 1563, and 1570; and this agreement was most likely made in 1564, as in that year, on the *Sunday after Midsummer*, the history of Æneas and Queen Dido was played on the Rood-eye, with a considerable display of spectacle accompaniments.

corroboration of this curious fact is found in the Drapers' Accounts, where, amongst other charges for Midsummer Night, 1560, and also 1561, occur the following :—

Itm̃ p'd for berynge of the gyantysse xx^{d} Itm̃ p'd for Candyll j^{d}

Sometimes, it appears, this latter Company let out their Giantess for the Midsummer Procession, contenting themselves on such occasions with exhibiting their own Giant or Giants only ; thus :—

1557.—Reseyved for the hyar of the gynnes wyffe at medesomer ....ij^{s} iiij^{d}

A remarkable item respecting the Female Giant belonging to the same Company may here be introduced, though unconnected with the Midsummer Eve Procession ; it occurs under the head of expences for the annual dinner in 1560 :

Itm̃ payd for the gyantes wyffe standyng .....ij^{d}

The above item being entered with the charges of the dinner, and not capable of reference to a permanent head of rent or payment for the place in which the figure was kept (the Company being abundantly provided with store-room,) it may be conjectured that the entry is connected with the amusements of the Members at their dinner, by an exhibition of the Giantess, as it will be subsequently shewn that a species of Plays were sometimes performed before them on those occasions. The charge in the Cappers' Accounts, 1542, " for kepyng þ^{e} giant", may be thought to militate against the foregoing hypothesis ; but notwithstanding this Company had a room over the South porch of St. Michael's Church, adjoining St. Thomas' or the Cappers' Chapel, in which they held meetings, it was not well calculated for keeping of their Giant ; moreover the access was difficult, and such as would subject the figure to much hazard, not to mention the liability of injury, in such a situation, from the depredators before mentioned, who assisted in destroying the Chester Giants.

Specimens of the entire entries in several of the Companies' Books, for the charges of Midsummer Night, are given below :—

DRAPERS' COMPANY.

payments of myssomer nyght.

1560.—payd to James of the Swan for playng of the slag .....vj^{s} ij^{d}
payd to thomas fawton the capten .....vj^{s} viij^{d}
payd to ij lakes....v^{s} payd to xj gunners v^{s} a pesse .....lv^{s}
payd for pleyng of the drume befor the gonners .....ij^{s}

1560.—payd to the wyssthold^{s}....xij^{d} payd for xj dossen ponttes.....xj^{d}
payd for schowyng the harnes .....viij^{d}
payd to the harnes men that beare harnes .....iij^{s} vj^{d}
payd for viij stone of lyght .....v^{s} iiij^{d}
payd for the pentyng of the gyans wyffe .....ij^{s} vj^{d}
payd to endes for the waxe .....v^{s}
payd for caryng iij stremers & viij cressetts .....ij^{s}
payd for beryng the pewdenges .....ij^{d}

CAPPERS' COMPANY.

Exspensys on mydsom̃er nyght.

1544.—payd for cressyt lyght....ij^{s} ix^{d} payd to iij mynstrells.....vj^{s} viij^{d}
payd for beryng of iiij cressytts viij^{d} beryng þ^{e} pudyng Ropps iiij^{d}
payd for beryng þ^{e} stremars..iiij^{d} payd for beryng þ^{e} gyant....xiij^{d}
payd to skynar þ^{e} smythe for makyng a cressytt & mendyng of another.....xviij^{d} payd for bottomyng of a cressyt.....vj^{d}

CARPENTERS' COMPANY.

The chargis of mydsomer nyght

1560.—Itm̃ for bread.....ij^{s} Itm̃ for ale.....v^{s}
Itm̃ for fishe.....xij^{d} Itm̃ for butter .....vj^{d}
Itm̃ for coumfetes and marmulate .....viij^{d}
Itm̃ for iiij stone off cresset light .....ij^{s}
Itm̃ for bearynge owre harnes cressittes and lyght .....xij^{d}
Itm̃ to the mynstrells .....xij^{d} Itm̃ for a doss' off poyntes..j^{d}

SMITHS' COMPANY.

Exspens on missomo^{r} nezt.

1451.—In ale & wyne.....x^{d} It̃ in spic̃ .....viij^{d}
It̃ payed for iij dozen poyntts vj^{d} It̃ payed for iij harmo^{r} ....v^{s}
It̃ iij men for goyng in þ^{e} h̃nes xij^{d} It̃ iiij spẽ berrers .....iiij^{d}
It̃ ij cresset berr s..ij^{d} It̃ þ^{e} panzer berr̃..ij^{d} It̃ the harp..xij^{d}
Sm̃a..ix^{s} viij^{d}

Minstrels and Waits.

HESE personages were so essential to the Processions, Pageants, and Entertainments of our ancestors, that they claim some special notice in an Essay towards elucidating that branch of Coventry antiquities; accordingly, various items are subjoined, collected from the different sources so often previously noticed, with such observations as may tend to explain and illustrate the history of these civic musicians, such alone being the view in which they must be considered; a diligent investigation of the subject having compelled the writer, somewhat reluctantly, to conclude that the recitation of verses,—that high and distinguishing characteristic of the national Minstrels, was not practised by those of Coventry.

The first extract is from the Leet Book, recording the appointment of City Minstrels in 1423:—Allso thei have re[ve]t [retained] Mathew Ellerton, Thomas Sendell, Will' Howton & John Trumpor[p] Mynstrells as for the Cite of Coventz and þ[t] þei have as oþ[r] have had afore them. Allso þ[t] thei have of ev[ve]y hallplace j[d] & of ev[ve]y Cottage ob' ev[ve]y quart[r.] & after þ[r] beryng bett[r] to be rewardyd and also þ[ai.] orden þ[t] thei shall have ij men of ev[ve]y ward ev[ve]y quar[ve]t to help them to gathur þ[r] Quarterage.

It is evident that these Minstrels were the City Waits; for it will be seen from various succeeding items, that they were thus designated; and I apprehend that whenever the term Waits occurs, it must be so understood. In their individual capacities, then, these ancient musicians will be properly denominated Minstrels, but Waits when employed by the City.

[p] TRUMPOR, i. e. Trumpeter: another instance of a name derived from a profession.

Amongst other payments made by the Mayor, in 1428, are the following:—to iij mynstrelles of the kynges xx^{s} and to iij Trumpettes of the kynges xx^{s} also to iij mynstrelles of the quenes x^{s} $_{q}$. And in 1438, it was at the Leet ordained, "that they Trumpet schall have the rule of the Wayts and off hem be cheffe."

The following Act of Leet, in 1441, though without a distinctive antecedent, evidently applies to the City Waits or Minstrels:—Volunt quod habeant vesturas suas prout billa ista exigit sub condicionẽ quod hẽant unũ Trumpet ꝑut infra fit mencõ & leȝ skecons$_{r}$ sub securitate invenc̃ hẽant & hẽbunt unam xij pann̄ ꝑ vestura sibi debit ꝑ Gardianes ꝑ'ij xx^{s} erga fm̃ corꝑis xp̄i.

In 1458, an Order for collecting the wages of the Waits occurs in these words:—hit was ordyned þ^{t} an honest man in evy ward shuld be assyned be þ^{e} meir to go w^{t} þ^{e} wayts to gader their wags̃ quartly at the peticõn of þ^{e} wats then beyng. And by another enactment, in 1467, they were restricted from leaving the City, except to ecclesiastical dignitaries:—Also þ^{t} þ^{e} Wayts of þis Cite þ^{t} nowe be & hereaft to be shall not passe þ^{is} Cite but to Abbotts & P'iors w^{t}in x myles of þ^{is} Cite.

The following extracts from Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 90, furnish an illustration of this last cited Order:—

"At the consecration of John, prior of Maxtoke in 1432, two Minstrels from Coventry made part of the festivity. Dat duobus mimis de Coventry in die consecrationis prioris··xij^{d}. And in the Prior's Accounts of the same Monastery, temp. Henry VI. for several years one of the general heads is '*De Joculatoribus et Mimis*,' under which occur, inter alia:—Mimis de Coventry xx^{d}. Lusoribus de Coventry viij^{d}. Mimis de Coventry xij^{d}. Cithariste de Coventry vj^{d} Duobus citharistis de Coventry viij^{d}."

The Fraternity of the Holy Cross in Abingdon, at their annual Feast, temp. Henry VI. had "Twelve Minstrels, some from Coventre, and some from Maydenhith, who had two shillings three pence apeece, besides theyre dyet & horsemeat".

Hearne's Liber Niger, vol. ii. p. 598 *Appendix.*

In the Trinity Gild Accounts, are various payments to the City Waits, for Minstrelsy at certain Festivals; thus in the 36th Henry VI. 1457.—Festival of the Trinity.—Itm̃ Histrionibȝ$_{s}$ Civitat vj^{s} viij^{d}. St. John Baptist.—It histrionibȝ Civitatis v^{s}. And at the Feast of the Assumption, a like charge.

q Compare this extract with the items from the Northumberland Household Book, and remarks thereon, Percy's Reliques, vol. i. p. xcv. Edit. 1794.

r SCOCHYNS—*escutcheons* or badges; see under 1470, in the opposite page.

s They are called "Mynstrels" in the Account, 38th Henry VI.

We learn also that the Waits had silver Badges and Chains provided at the City charge :—

1470.—Md qd Ricūs Wode grocr delibanr xijo die apl A° reg̃ Edwardi qrt Ricūs Alen & Ricūs braytoft junr gardianis, unū *scochyn* argēt cū *colerio* argenr qd ordinar erat p uno de la wayts villi de coventr. *Leet Book*, fo. 209.

1564.—delyvered to Goldstone the iiij sylver Collers, weinge xxxj onc̃. *Council House Book*, fo. 65.

These Escutcheons, or Badges of Silver, were unquestionably charged with the City Arms; the first notice of them occurs in 1441, and they continued to be worn by the Waits, together with the Silver Chains, until 1710[t], when, in consequence of the disordered state of the Corporation finances (arising from a sequestration of their estates,) they were sold.

What Livery the Waits at this time wore does not appear; it will be subsequently seen that they had Cloaks, which are first mentioned in 1615, and such was their costume until the discontinuance of this part of the City establishment, about the year 1780. There is a notice of clothing in the Order of Leet, 1441, ante, but not sufficiently distinct for our purpose.

1551.—It' p'd to the iiij weyts for ther wags[u] ..... xxvjs viijd *Chamberlains' Accounts.*

1587.—D'd to Geldstone for the Trumpet the 15 of June doble taffata sarcenet Crimson & greene viijs Red & grene strings w'th buttons red frenge & silke ijs jd *City Treasurers' Accounts.*

This is the first specific item of an appendant Banner to the Trumpets used by the Waits of Coventry; and it may be observed that the colours are correspondent with the field of the City Arms, viz. gules and vert. The custom is so well known to be of much higher antiquity, that although this is the earliest proof discovered in the Corporation Accounts, it may be fairly presumed that the usage was adopted at Coventry long before 1587.

t 1710, 10 July.—Ordered that the Silver chaines & Badges the Waytes wore bee sold. *Common Council Book.*

The ensuing year an Order was made, "that all the Cities plate be sold for the most that can be got for it."

u In the ancient MS. Accounts of a Noble Family, are the ensuing items of expenditure in the course of a Journey to the Metropolis, in June, 1565, under the head "Gifts and rewards":—

"Item gyven to the lord of mysrule at meriden .... vjd	Item gyven to the barber at Coventrye ..... vjd
Item gyven to the waitch (waits) there ..... ijs	Item gyven to the musicions at barnet ..... ijs
Item gyven to the musicions at dunstable ..... ijs vjd	1569 [May 13].—to the players of Coventre .. vs

In Smith's "Ancient Costume of England", is a representation of "Trumpeters playing in Concert", Anno 1375; the figures taken from MS. 15, D. III. Royal Library, British Museum, and the instruments from MS. 2, B. VII.; but the form of them, and the want of Banners, seem to warrant a conjecture that they are representations of the Pipes used by Minstrels, rather than Trumpets.

1587.—p'd for one of the pypes for the waytes w^{t} the carriage of it xxvij^{s}
City Treasurers' Accounts.

In 1610, it was enacted at the Leet, that "every person that hath been Maior of this Citie shall pay to the waite players of the same iiij^{d} and everie one that hath beene Sheriffe iij^{d} and everie one that hath been Chamberlayne or Warden ij^{d} and everie Comoner j^{d} quarterly. And that the said waite players shall plaie on their waites, at such times, and at & in such places, as shall best seeme good to those who are the cheiff rulers & of the Councell house of this Citie in paine of everie one so refusing to plaie to forfeite xij^{d} to be levied by waye of distresse."

1613.—six yards of Stammell Cullo$^{?}$d [v] Clothe, w'ch made the Wayts Coats this yere att ix^{s} viij^{d} the yard.....lviij^{s} *Treasurers' Accounts.*

On the 14th of August, 1615, it was agreed that five persons, whose names are specified, "shall goe to play w^{t} the waytes about the Cytie according to the ancient Custom of the said Cytie for w$^{ch.}$ they are to have seven pounds by the yere in money and quarteridge also so that they play orderly as thei should out of wch allowance they are to furnish them selves w$^{th.}$ comely and sufficient cloakes for the credit of the place: they are also to play at all solem ffeasts at m^{r} maiors commaunds and not to goe forth of the Cytie wth out licence obtained of the s$^{d.}$ m$^{r.}$ maior." *Common Council Book.*

1619.—lent Edward Lane July 28, one tenor pipe belonging to the Waits. *Idem.*

Oct. 17, 1627, "Agreed that the Wayts of this Citie shall have 4 Marks p annũ Wages from this house and liverye Cloakes once in three yeares: so long tyme as they performe theire duties to the approbacon of this house." *Idem.*

In 1631, 4 Cloaks for the Waytes cost £7. 4s. 4d.; and in 1633, a charge occurs in the Treasury Accounts of Cloth for the Wayts' coats £8. 5s. 5d.; trimmings £1. 6s. 8d.; making up 12s. £10. 4s. 1d.

1674, 6th of May.—Ordered that £4. 10s. be allowed annually, "for a sett of Waites to be the Cities Musitions", and that they play as formerly.
Common Council Book.

[v] STAMMEL—a coarse kind of red, very inferior to fine scarlet.—*Nares's Glossary.*

On the 30th of Oct. 1678, the Common Council agreed that four individuals, who are named, "shall be the Cities waite players for which they shall have twentie nobles p anñ wages to be paid them quarterly from all saiuts next and that they shall have Cloaks given them everie two yeares and to weare the Cities Badge upon them. They are to play through the wholl Citie every morning (except Sundays) from Michaelmas till the 22 of Aprill yearely and are to begin to play on their Instruments of Musique at two of the Clocke till break of day—they are also to play at all publique feasts and ffaires in this Citie and at other times when the Mayor pleases—they are to play upon two treables one teno^{r} and a double curtell, all of them to be tunable."

In 1699, 24th May, new Cloaks were ordered; and on the 10th May, 1702, it was "Agreed that the City Wayts shall have new Cloaks, giving Bond for them and the Badges, and for due performance of their duty."

Common Council Book.

The following document, written in the reign of Elizabeth, or early in that of James I. shews the hours of performance of the City Waits very minutely.

"For the Waites

"The usuall manner for the playng of the Waites in this Cytie was thus v'z to play on half of everie quarter throughout the yere

The first quarter they begann the first weeke in Cleane Lent and continued till Easter.

They divided the Cytie into foure parts, and playd foure severall mornings beginning at two of aclocke.

The daies the played on were Munday, Twesday, Wednesday and Thursday.

The next quarter they begann the first day of May and continued till Midd-summer.

The third quarter they begann at Lammas and continued till Michaelmas, these two quarters were playd in the same manner the first were.

The fourth and last quarter begann at Allhollantide, and continued till Christmas.

They were to play all this quarter five daies in every Weeke throughout the towne, that is on Mondaies, Twesdaies, Wednesdaies, Fridaies and Saturdaies.

They usually begann at twelve of the clocke at middnight, and continued till foure in the morning."

For the further illustration of this subject, as regards the employment of Minstrels by the Trading Companies, a selection is given from their Account Books, arranged in chronological order, and commencing with the

SMITHS' COMPANY.

1450.—Item payd þ^e^ mynstrells for þ^r^ hyr ..... viij^s^

Itm̃ spend on þ^r^ bord on Corp^s^ x^'i^ evyn & daye ..... ij^s^ vj^d^

1451.—It' spend on the mynstrells diñ^r^ & þ^r^ sop^r^ on Corp^s^ x^'i^ day (the hire being 8s. as before) ..... xx^d^

1452.—paid to þe wayteȝ of covẽtȝ ..... xij^d^

(This was at the annual Dinner on St. Loy's Day, & they had a luter also.)

1463.—Itm̃ to the iiij mynstrells the same daye (Corp. xp̄i) ..... ix^s^

(The general charge varies from 9s. to 15s. for Pageant, Procession, &c.)

1467.—It' payd to the weytes for Corpus xp̄i day & seynt loye day ther hyr & ther bord ..... viij^s^ viij^d^

1471.—It' paid to the waytes for mynstrelship (for Pageant & Procession) vj^s^

The last item appears to define very clearly the distinction between Waits and Minstrels, in conformity with the idea suggested p. 207, on this point; and as no evidence whatever appears to shew that the Corporation exhibited Pageants at Corpus Christi, we may hence account for the Waits or City Minstrels being hired at that time by the Smiths' Company. There is still a difficulty remaining: for if the Mayor, Aldermen, &c. formed a part of the Corpus Christi *Procession*, the Waits would necessarily be required to attend upon them: and it must not be concealed that in 1559 and 1562, there are items of payment by this Company to the Waits on Midsummer Night, when the attendance of the City Band upon the Mayor would be indispensible. As these are the only entries which have been discovered, militating against the above hypothesis, it may perhaps be allowable to presume, that the Clerk has in those instances used the term Waits instead of Minstrels, a supposition not very improbable, when the frequent occurrence of the two words is considered, and that in every instance they equally express musical performers. Before the reader decides upon the subject, it will be necessary to refer to an Order of Leet in 1440, for which consult p. 9.

1477.—It' payd to the wayts for pypyng (Pageant and Procession) ..v^s^

It' payd to ij mynstrells (St. John's Night) ..... iij^s^

1481.—Thom[a]s West mynstrell oon of the wayts & his wyf reč.....ij[d]
Adam West the wayt & his wyf brodur & sistur reč .....ij[d]
John Blewet the wayt made brodur & his wif .....ij[d]
Brese the wayt & his wif brodur & sistur & paid finis .....ij[d]

"And these iiij weyts were made brodur on this condicõn foloyng, to serve the crafte on corpus xp̄i day for viij[s] & theyr dener that is to say ilken of theme to take xij[d] & to set on xij[d] of theyr finis un to all theyr finis be paid in this maner wis & this yer they paid wax silver."

1490.[w]—It' payd to the wayts (the purpose not specified).....vj[s] viij[d]
1492.—¶ peyd to þ[e] weytts vj[s] to a mynstrele at þ[e] halle (at St. Loy's dinner) iiij[d]
1554.—p'd to the mynstrells for prosesyon & pagents .....ij[s] vj[d]

Several other entries of payments to Minstrels by this Company will be found pp. 197-8; and it may be remarked, that soon after 1570, the term "musicians" prevails over their ancient appellation.

CARPENTERS' ACCOUNTS.

1453.—It̄ for þ[e] mynstrell at þ[e] frer[s] ij[d] 1461.—It̄ payd our mynstrelle iij[d]
1463.—It̄ to mynstrells .....xij[d] 1464.—It̄ payd mynstrells ....viij[d]
1477.—¶ It̄ to the menstrell.....ij[d] It̄ to þe wates .....xvij[d]
(The above are an accustomed part of the charges for the Company's annual Dinner, held at the White Friars'.)
1585.—paide the mynstrills and syngers at supper .....ij[s] iiij[d]

In 1601 occurs a payment of 6d. to the Musicians at the "Account Dinner"; and on the same occasion in 1602, the sum paid was 12d.; in 1603, 18d.; and in 1607, 9d.

The extracts in the preceding page, marked ¶, wherein are found distinct entries of payments to *Minstrels* and *Waits* for the same occasions, will not escape the notice of the discriminating reader.

CAPPERS' ACCOUNTS.

1485.—It̄ p'd to the menestrell for his fee.....iij[s]
1501.—It̄ p'd to þ[e] menestrellis (at dinner).....ij[d]
1510.—It̄ payd to þ[e] mynstrell more than was gatherd.....xviij[d]

[w] In 1490, "Joh's Olnet de Coventre mynstrell" was admitted a member of Corpus Christi Gild.

1514.—It̃ for a mynstrell for the yere iij^{s} iiij^{d} for a mynstrell at last q'r iiij^{d}
1520.—p'd the mynstrell þ^{e} furst q'r xij^{d} 1521.—p'd the mynstrell hys q^{rt}age xiiij^{d}
1533.—p'd to the mynstrell at quarterage day .....viij^{d}
1536.—Rec̃ of the Craft for mynstrells iiij^{s} x^{d} And in 1538, 3s. 8d.
1546.—p'd to þ^{e} mynstrell on Jhũs day at Smyths tavern.....xij^{d}
1548.—p'd to þe mynstrell at þe eatyng of hys venyson .....ij^{s}
1566.—It̃ payd att the gose etynge to the mynstrelles .....xij^{d}
It̃ payd to the mynstrelles on chusynge daye.....xij^{d}
1575.—paid to the mynstrells & syngers on the dynner day .....xx^{d}
1576-7.—paide to the mynstrells and syngers on the chewsynge daye ..xx^{d}
1593.—Itm̃ geven to the mynstrels at the pecocke (an Inn) .....vj^{d}
1608.—Geven to the musitiens at dinner .....ij^{s}

From these extracts we learn that sometimes the Minstrel employed by the Cappers' Company received an annual fee, and it appears that a collection was made amongst the Company to defray this charge; but the yearly fee or salary must only be understood as applying to his attendance upon their convivial meetings, and not to either their Pageant, Procession, or Watches. Indeed it is evident that this system did not long continue, and there is considerable variation in the quantum of payment upon occasions apparently similar.

DYERS' ACCOUNTS.

1473.—p'd to mynstrells (dinner at St. Nicholas Hall).....ij^{d}
1478.—paid to mynstrells.....iij^{d} It' peid to pleiers .....xvj^{d}
1480.—Itm̃ geven to the Jurneymen mynstrells .....iiij^{d}

This last item is not very intelligible, since nothing similar has been found in the Accounts of the other Companies; and this is the only entry of the kind in those of the Dyers. The most plausible solution is, that some Journeymen of the Craft were occasional Minstrels, and employed by the Company at their dinner, in preference to other performers.

DRAPERS' ACCOUNTS.

1556.—It̃ payde to the players (din^{r}) v^{s} Resevyd at þ^{e} diner & for the playe xix^{s} iiij^{d}
1558.—It̃ payde þe mynstrell (din^{r}) xij^{d} 1566.—It̃ to the plears at oure dyner v^{s}

MERCERS' ACCOUNTS.

1626.—paide the wayt players for playinge at o^{r} feast on saynt Johns day ij^{s} vj^{d}

The term Minstrel was now disused, and it seems very likely that the City Waits were employed at this feast. We are prevented from ascertaining the more ancient customs of the Mercers' Company respecting Minstrelsy or other amusements at their dinners, in consequence of the old Account Books being lost or destroyed.

The extracts elucidative of the particular instruments used by the Waits and Minstrels of Coventry, are too insufficient to furnish much satisfactory information on that head. It appears that the Waits, being chiefly employed in Processions, and other exhibitions in the open air, used wind instruments; and it is evident from the items bearing date 1423, 1436, and 1444, (p. 208) that one of these was a Trumpet, the performer on which had the rule and government of the City Waits. In 1586, "one of the pypes for the waytes" cost, with carriage, 27s.; and an entry frequently occurs to the following effect:—"payd to the wayts for pypyng". In 1678, an Order was made that they should "play upon two treables, one teno^{r} and a double curtell, all of them to be tunable". These are the only items bearing upon this portion of our investigation.

Still less information is afforded as to the nature of the Minstrel instruments; the entries are of so general a character, expressing payments sometimes for minstrelsy, at others for melody, that scarce a gleam illuminates the subject. From the account of payments by the Smiths' Company for Music on Midsummer and St. Peter's Nights, in the years 1449, 1450, and 1451, (pp. 197-8,) it is evident that the Harp was used by our Coventry Minstrels,—the indifferent application of the terms "þ^{e} mynstrell" and "þ^{e} harp^{r}" in those entries, being a satisfactory proof that both served to express the same performer. Another instance of the usage of the Harp is produced by the extracts from the Carpenter's Accounts, 1456, (p. 197,) where "Rob'rt harp", i. e. Robert the Harper[x], is paid 14d. for performing on Midsummer and St. Peter's Nights. We also find that in 1452 the Smiths had "a luter", at their dinner, besides the Coventry Waits. The "slage, dromes, fluett and wysseler" of the Drapers' Company, 1555-6-7, are so evidently martial music, being introduced with the Gunners on Midsummer Night, that they cannot be considered as appertaining to the Minstrels. The three Minstrels of the Percy Family, in 1512, (see Northumberland Household Book,) played on "a Taberet, a Luyte and a Rebecc", a selection well calculated for domestic music; but it may be presumed that the Coventry Minstrels, who

[x] The proper name of this person was Crudworth.

were chiefly employed in Processions and Pageants, would, like the Waits, for greater effect, use wind instruments principally.

The Household Book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in the possession of the Right Honourable Lord Bagot, shews the musical establishment at Thornbury Castle, during the Christmas festivities in 1509 :—ij le Mynstrelles—vj Trumpettes—iiij Lusores—xviij Cantatoꝛ Capell^{9}—ix pueꝛ—vj Famul^{9} Cantatoꝛ. On the 5th of January, "iiij le Waites de Bristoll" were added to the number of performers.

In the romance of Arthur of Little Britain, plate 2, the representation of his marriage with Perron, exhibits three minstrels in a gallery, all playing upon long trumpet-shaped pipes, exactly alike in form, to each of which is suspended a banner with arms; the text merely relating that "Johannet dyd sende all aboute for mynstrelles and instrumẽtes of musyke".

It may be again remarked, that the term Minstrel[y], throughout every account and document connected with Coventry, appears to be strictly confined to a performer on some musical instrument; and that on some occasions, when they attended the Companies' Feasts, there is a charge for Singers also, as has been shewn in the preceding extracts from the Carpenters' entries for 1585, and those of the Cappers in 1576. And here the subject of Minstrels and Waits would close, did not some items in the foregoing pages, from the Accounts of the Dyers and Drapers, clearly prove that the melody of Minstrels and Singers was not the only accompaniment of these festal hours; and a short investigation of them seems desirable.

The Dyers, in 1478, paid 16d. to "pleirs", besides 3d. to "mynstrells"; and the Drapers, in 1556 and 1566, 5s. for "the plears at oure dyner". From another item in the Account of the latter Company for 1556, it appears that a collection was made at the dinner towards the expences of the "playe". It may be suspected, moreover, that the following payment, though entered at the foot of the general annual charge of their *Pageant*, properly belongs to the *Dinner;* and most assuredly it is for making a fair copy of *the Play*, as Pynyng was an excellent penman :—

1568.—payd to ffrancys pynyng for a playe .....v^{d}

[y] A Minstrel is in legal acceptation, a person playing on some instrument. There is a remarkable exception in the Charter of London, concerning Minstrels, as given in Arnold's "Chronicle," p. 5, which seems to have escaped the notice of the learned illustrator of "An Essay on the Ancient Minstrels," prefixed to "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," 1794:—"The 8 Article wetyth wel that we have graunted to our Citeꝛens of London

An opinion has been already hazarded (p. 205,) that their Giantess was exhibited in 1560, at the Company's Dinner. In the absence of positive means to determine the nature of these *Plays,* much must be left to conjecture; but as it was usual for the Drapers to have frequent rehearsals of their Pageant, and considering the opportunities each member possessed of witnessing the public exhibition of them, it is probable that a love of novelty would on these occasions lead them to vary the scene; and an ample store of dresses [z], with a selection from their Pageant performers, rendered this a matter of easy accomplishment, under the direction of the Pageant-master of his day, the so-often-named Robert Crowe, whose connection with the Company about this time is proved by his receiving, in 1557, 20s. "for makyng of the boke for the paggen", and who for several years, therein personated one of the chief characters.

The ensuing extracts from the Accounts of the Cappers' Company, materially elucidate the subject:—

1525.—It payed for the soteltys on Candelmase daye .....vj^{s} viij^{d}
It payd to Robert Crowe for *the Golden fleece* .....xx^{s}
It payd to John Crowe and Wyllyam Lynes for the same ....xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

second quarter

It p'd the syngers on candelmase daye xx^{d} Itm̃ p'd for suttelt ij^{s} v^{d}
Itm̃ p'd to the players iij^{s} iiij^{d} It p'd for payntyng the sotelte.....xij^{d}

These disjointed entries refer to one fact, namely the devices and amusements provided for the Company at their Candlemas Dinner; and the annual Accounts of this period, both as to receipts and payments, being divided into two parts (strangely enough called the first and second *quarters,)* we find a portion of the expences of this entertainment brought into each division of the year's account,

that none of them pletee othor wythout the wallis of London of ony plee: But of plees of free holde that ben without the fraunchesis outake [except] *mo'mers* and our *mynstrels*". The following enactment is less creditable to the general character of this class of persons:—4th Henry IV. "Item to eschewe many diseases and mischieves, whiche hath happened before this tyme in the land of wales, by many wasters, *rymours*, *mynstrels*, and other vacabondes, It is ordeyned & stablyshed, that no waster, *rimour*, *mynstrell* nor vacabond be in any wyse susteyned in the land of wales, to make commorthies or gatheryng upon the comen people there".—*Statutes.*

z At p. 74, an account has been given of four Furred Gowns and as many Surplices, purchased by this Company in 1572, together with a charge of 10s, "for wryttyng the booke", the whole of which it seems highly probable were provided for the Plays mentioned in the text.

for reasons it is now perhaps in vain to seek. The allowance for the Dinner, to which so costly an appendage was now made for the first time, amounted only to 16s. 8d.; and, unfortunately, we cannot discover whether the practice was continued, as in the next and many subsequent years the Dinner charges of the Company are expressed in one gross sum.

So many instances of "Soteltys", as appendages to the splendid Feasts of our ancestors, will occur to the mind of the intelligent reader, as to render any explanation here unnecessary; but it may not be amiss to refer to the descriptions of the Inthronization Feasts of Archbishop Nevill, 6th Edward IV. and Archbishop Warham, 20th Henry VII. in vol. 6 of Leland's Collectanea, as also the curious account of Morton Bishop of Ely's Installation Feast, 18th Edward IV. in Arnold's Chronicle.

The *Golden Fleece* will appear a sufficiently appropriate subject for the Cappers' Play, when we take into consideration that the trade of this Company was Cap-making, and Wool the sole material used in the fabric. The Woolcombers, in addition to their Patron Saint, Bishop Blaze, at the Shew Fair, in Coventry, have always a character personating Jason, who carries a Golden Fleece at the point of his drawn sword.

FINIS.

Additional Illustrations.

PAGE 5, LINE 15.

THE following is a transcript of the entire passage, as Dugdale first wrote it, in his autograph copy of the Warwickshire, preserved at Merevale, by Dugdale Stratford Dugdale, Esq. M. P. and recently arranged in six folio volumes, with a seventh of Arms and Monuments, by my friend, William Hamper, Esq.:—

"Before ye suppression of the Monasteries, this Cittye was very famous for the pageants that were play'd therein upon *Corpus Christi* day. These pageants were acted wth. mighty state and reverence by the fryers of this House, and conteyned the story of the New testament wch was composed into old english Rime. The Theatres for the severall scenes were very large and high, and being placed upon wheeles, were drawne to all the eminent places of the Cittye, for ye better advantage of the Spectators. In that incomparable Library belonging to Sir Thomas Cotton, there is yet one of the bookes wch pteyned to this pageant, entitled *Ludus Corporis Christi*, or *Ludus Coventriæ*. I my selfe have spoke wth. some old people who had in their younger yeares bin eye witnesses of these pageants soe acted; from whom I have bin told that the confluence of people from farr and neare to see that Shew was extraordinary great, and yeilded noe small advantage to this Cittye."

PAGE 9, NOTE n.

It seems to be a general regulation; Green was probably superintendant. F. D.

PAGE 40, LAST LINE.

In the French Mystery of the Destruction of Jerusalem, the dramatis personæ is tenfold, and very many of them are quite unconnected with the real history. F. D.

PAGE 52.

There can be no doubt that, generally speaking, Pilate was an odious character. He is still so in Switzerland, where they say he is immersed in a lake at Lucerne, into which he plunged himself, and became a demon. F. D.

PAGE 54, NOTE x.

Milton, in his Samson Agonistes, may be said to have given us the finest sacred drama in our language; and it appears from his MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, that he had sketched out the plans of several others. Todd's Milton, vol. v. p. 487. His great poem had been also planned as a Mystery, the draft of which exists in the same Library, and will be found in the above-mentioned edition of his works, vol. iv. p. 383. J. H. M.

PAGE 60, LINE 12.

The singularly-formed instrument, which the Devil holds in his hand, in these pictorial representations, appears to receive an explanation from the following passage in Goëthe's Wilhelm Meister, vol. ii. chap. 18, where a character is introduced as having acted in "Spiritual Masquerades," or Mysteries, and thus avenging himself on some fellow performers, who in playing the parts of Pagan soldiers, had beaten him rather too naturally, when personating a martyr:—"He took care at the Day of Judgment to have them decked out in gaudy clothes as Emperors and Kings; and at the moment when they, exceedingly contented with their situation, were about to take precedence of the rest in heaven, as they had done on earth, he on a sudden rushed upon them in the shape of the Devil; and, to the cordial edification of all the beggars and spectators, *having thoroughly curried them with his* OVEN-FORK, he pushed them without mercy back into the chasm, where, in the midst of waving flame, they met with the most sorry welcome."—The word in the original German, is probably Ofen-krücke, *rutabulum*, the implement for raking and spreading the burning fuel of an oven." W. H.

PAGE 114, LAST LINE.

The Pastoral Pipe is an object requiring no elucidation; but, as an instance of the mode in which the Manifestation of our Saviour to the Shepherds was treated by our ancient artists, it may be mentioned, that one of the paintings from St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, published by J. T. Smith, 1804, represents a Shepherd, *playing on two Pipes at once*, with his dog and sheep near him, whilst an Angel, holding a scroll, announces the glad tidings. W. H.

PAGE 141, LINE 2.

Mr. Brand's account of the Corpus Christi Plays at Newcastle upon Tyne, having been accidentally omitted in its proper place, is here printed from his History of that Town, vol. II. pp. 369-379 :—

PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS, OR MIRACLE PLAYS, ANCIENTLY PERFORMED BY THE TRADING COMPANIES OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

Whatever relates to this subject is extremely interesting, as these miracle plays were the first and earliest of our dramatic exhibitions. These appear to have been acted in the open air, in what was called in some places the Play-Field, or in some spot calculated to shew the performance to the greatest crowd of spectators. They are reported to have been many of them very indelicate and obscene. They were not without their use, however, not only in impressing on the rude minds of an unlettered people the chief histories of their religion, but also in softening their manners, at that time very gross and impure; "creating insensibly," as Mr. Warton observes, "a regard for other arts than those of bodily strength and savage valour."

In the ordinary of the coopers, dated January 20th, 1426, occurs the earliest notice I have found of any of the Corpus Christi exhibitions in Newcastle upon Tyne. They are mentioned also in those of the smiths and glovers, A. D. 1436; barbers[a], 1442; slaters[b], 1451; sadlers 1459; and of the fullers and dyers[c], 1477. By the ordinary of the goldsmiths, plumbers, glaziers, pewterers

[a] The barbers to play the "Baptysyng of Crist."—See also skinners' ordinary, January 20, 1437—also that of the armourers, &c. 38 of Henry VIII.

[b] The following entry occurs in the old book of the slaters :—

"A. D. 1568. The plaers for thear dennares iij^{s} Item for wyne viij^{d} Item for the rede clothe ij^{s} Item for the care xx^{d} Item for four stoopes vj^{d} Item for dreanke vj^{d} Item for bearers of the care and bareres xviij^{d} Item in drencke iij^{d} to theme that bare the care and j^{d} to the plaeres in drencke and ij^{d} the horse mete vj^{d} Item for the pyper viij^{d} Item for rosemare ij^{d} Item for detten of the swearde ij^{d} Item for charcole ij^{d} Item for the detten of the croones ij^{d} Item Bertram Sadler for plaers whan they came home from the playe in mete and drenk had vj^{d}."—N. B. Their play was "the Offering of Isaac by Abraham."

[c] The following memorandums occur in the old books of the fullers and dyers :—

"1561. The charggs of the play this yere.

"The play lettine to Sir Robert Hert, Sir William Hert, George Walles, Robert Murton, ix^{s}.

"First for the rehersall of the play before þ^{e} crafft x^{s}. Item to a mynstrell þ^{t} nyght iij^{d}.

"Item for payntyng the geyre x^{s}. Item for a salmone trout xv^{d}.

"Item for the mawndy loves and caks ij^{s} viij^{d}. Item for wyn iij^{s} vj^{d}. Item for iij yerds and a d. lyn cloth for God's coot iij^{s} ij^{d} ob. Item þ^{e} hoysse and cot makyng vj^{d}. Item for a payr of gloves iij^{d}. Item for the care

and painters, dated 1536, they were commanded to play at their feast "the three Kynges of Coleyn [d]."

A. D. 1552, mention occurs of the merchant-adventurers, as being concerned in the exhibition of five plays; one of them is assigned to the ostmen, and charged to the account of the corporation. The drapers, mercers and boothmen had probably each one, and the last might belong to the spicers, who appear anciently to have been a branch of the said fellowship of merchant-adventurers [e]. "Hogmagog" was the title of one of the plays, but I know not by which branch of the society it was acted [f].

An act was made by the merchants of Newcastle, March 23d, 20 Edw. IV. for settling the order of their procession on Corpus Christi day.

By the ordinary of the millers, dated 1578, we may infer that the Corpus Christi plays were at that time on the decline, and never acted but by a special command of the magistrates of Newcastle. "Whensoever," says that authority, "the generall plaies of the towne shall be commanded by the mayor, &c." they are to play "the antient playe of their fellowship," called "the Deliverance of the Children of Isrell out of the Thraldome, Bondage, & Servitude of King Pharo."

Thus also in that of the house-carpenters, dated July 3d, 1579, it is ordered, that "whensoever the generall plaies of the towne shall be plaied," they shall play "the Buriall of Christ," pertaining anciently to the said fellowship.

and banner berryng xx^{d}. Item for the carynge of the trowt and wyn about the towne xij^{d}. Item for the mynstrell xij^{d}. Item for ij spares for stanges vj^{d}. Item for drynk and thayr suppers that wated of the paient v^{s}. Item for tentor howks iij^{d}. Summa totalis L^{s} ob.

"Item to the clerk this yere because of the play ij^{s}.

[d] The following entry occurs in the first leaf of their old book:—

"$\overline{\text{XPS}}$ Jesus salvat nos, March day 5, anno salutis 1598.

"An invoic of all the players apperell pertainyng to the goldsmyths, plumers, puderers, glacieres and paynters.

"Bye beards to the kynges three and for the messonger one with theyr head hayres

"Item three cappes and thre septers and thre crownes

"Item one sterre and twey crownes

"Item box with our ordenarie and oure playe book."

[e] "Item paide of this revenus abovesaid for the fyve playes whereof the towne must pay for the ostmen playe iiij^{li} and so theis playes paid for with the fees and ordynarie charg's as aperes by perticulers wrytten in the stewards booke of this yere ys iij^{li} j^{s} xj^{d}."—*Merchants' old books*, A. D. 1552.

[f] "For the charges in and aboute Hoggmaygowyk iiij^{li} ij^{s}."—*Ibid*, A. D. 1554.

The charges of "Hogmagoge" occur again A. D. 1558, 14s. 2d.

"A. D. 1561. Corpus Christi plays for the setting fourth as apers by the buk xiiij^{li} ix^{s} vj^{d}.

"Anno 6 Edwardi VI. receyved that was gathered of the ventyners for the play xxxix^{s} x^{d}."

To this effect also it was ordered by that of the masons, A. D. 1581, "that at all times hereafter for ever whensoever the generall plaies of the towne of Newcastle, antiently called the Corpus Christi plays, shall be plaied, they shall cause to be set forth and plaied among other plaies of the said towne the plaie antientlye named the Buriall of our Lady Saint Mary the Virgin."

And lastly, by the joiners' ordinary, dated 1589, it was provided that "whensoever it shall be thought necessary by the mayor, &c. to comand to be sett forth and plaied or exercised any general playe or martial exercise, they shall attend on the same and do what is assigned them."

Bourne has preserved the following copy of the ancient play belonging to the company of shipwrights, in Newcastle upon Tyne. I sought in vain in all the archives of the several societies of that town for another. After the reformation, they were probably destroyed industriously, as reliques of popish superstition:—

Noah's Ark, or the Shipwright's ancient Play, or Dirge.

DEUS INCIPITUR.

ERE was this world that I have wrought
No marvel it is if I do show;
Their folk in earth I made of nought,
Now are they fully my foe.
Vengeance now will I do
Of them that have grieved me ill,
Great floods shall over them go,
And run over hoope and hill.
All mankind dead shall be,
With storms both stiff and steer;
All but Noah my darling free,
His children and their wives,
Ever more yet they trow'd in me,
Save therefore I will their lives.
Henceforth my angel free,
Into earth look what thou would
Greet well Noah in this degree,
Sleeping thou shalt him find;
Bid him go make a ship
Of stiff board and great,
Although he be not a wright
Therefore bid him not lett,
He shall have wit at will,
Be that he come thereto;
All things I him fulfill;
Pitch, tar, seam and rowe.
Bid him in any manner of thing,
To ship when he shall walk,
Of all kine kind of beast and fowl,
The male and female with him he take,
Bid him go provey, say so,
In ship that they not die,
Take with him hay, corn and straw,
For his fowl and his fee.
Henceforth my angel free
Tell him this for certain;
My blessing with thee be,
While that thou come again.

ANGELUS DICAT.

Waken Noah, to me take tent.
Noah bid, if thou hear this thing
Ever whilst thou live thou shalt repent.

NOAH RESPONDIT.

What art thou for Heaven's King
That wakens Noah off his sleeping
Away I would thou went.

ANGELUS DICAT.

It is an angel to thee sent
Noah, to tell thee hard tiding;
For every ilk a wight for warks wild,
And many fowled in sins sair,
And in felony fowly filled;
Therefore a ship thou dight to steer,
Of true timber highly railed,

With thirty cubits in defence,
Look that she draw when she is drest,
And in her side a door thou shear,
With fenesters full fitly fest,
And make chambers both more and less,
For a flood that up shall burst;
Such a flood in earth shall be,
That every like life that hath lifeward,
Beast and body with bone and blood,
They shall be stormed through stress of storm;
Albeit thou Noah and thy brood,
And their three wives in your hand,
For you are full righteous and good,
You shall be saved by sea and land.
In the ship ere you enter out,
You take with you both ox and cow;
Of ilk a thing that life has lent,
The male and female you take with you,
You fetch in fother for your freight,
And make good purveiance for you prove,
That they perish not in your sight
Do Noah as I have bidden thee now.

NOAH RESPONDIT.

Lord be then in this stead,
That me and mine will save and shield;
I am a man no worth at need,
For I am six hundred winters old,
Unlusty I am to do such a deed,
Worklooms for to work and weild
For I was never since I was born,
Of kind of craft to burthen a boat;
For I have neither ryff nor ruff,
Spyer, sprund, spront, no sprot.
Christ be the shaper of this ship,
For a ship need make I must.
Even wo worth thou fouled sin,
For all too dear thou must be bought,
God for thanks he made mankind,
Or with his hands that he them wrought;
Therefore or ever you blind,
You mind your wife and turn your thought,
For of my work I will begin,
So well were me all forth brought.

DEABOLUS INTRAT.

Put off Harro, and well away,
That ever I uprose this day;
So may I smile and say,
I went, there has been none alive,
Man, beast, child nor wife,
But my servants were they;
All this I have heard say,
A ship that made should be,
For to save withowten nay,
Noah and his meenye;
Yet trow I they shall lie,
Thereto I make a vow,
If they be never so slee,
To taynt them yet I trow
To Noah's wife will I wynd,
Gare her believe in me;
In faith she is my friend,
She is both whunt and slee,
Rest well, rest well, my own Dereday.

UXOR NOAH DICAT.

Welcome, Fewsthere, what is thy name,
Tyte that thou tell me.

DEABOLUS DICAT.

To tell my name I were full loath,
I come to warn thee of thy skaith,
I tell thee secretly,
And thou do after thy husband read,
Thou and thy children will all be dead,
And that right hastily.

UXOR DICAT.

Go devil, how say, for shame.

DEABOLUS DICAT.

Yes, hold thee still le dame,
And I shall tell how;
I swear thee by my crooked snout,
All that thy husband goes about
Is little for thy profit;
Yet shall I tell thee how,
Thou shalt weet all his will;
Do as I shall bid thee now,
Thou shalt weet every deal.
Have here a drink full good,
That is made of a mightful main,
Be he hath drunken a drink of this,
No longer shall he learn:
Believe, believe, my own dear dame,
I may no longer bide,
To ship when thou shall sayre,
I shall be by thy side.

NOAH DICAT.

This labour is full great
For like an old man as me,
Lo, lo, fast I sweat,
It trickles at our myn ee
Now home will I wende,
My weary bones for to rest,
For such good as God hath sent,
There I get of the best:
Rest well day, what chear with thee.

UXOR DICAT.

Welcome Noah, as might I thee
Welcome to thine own wayns.
Sit down here beside me,
Thou hast full weary baynes:
Have eaten, Noah, as might I thee,
And soon a drink I shall give thee,
Such drink thou never none afore.

NOAH DICAT.

What the devil what drink is it,
By my father's soul I have nere lost my wit.

UXOR DICAT.

Noah, bode you tell me where about you wends
I give God a vow, we two shall nere be freinds.

NOAH DICAT.

O yes dame could thou layne
I would tell thee my wit.
How God of heaven an angel sent,
And bad me make a ship,
This world he will foredoe
With storms both stiff and steer fell,
All but thee and me, our children and wifes.

UXOR DICAT.

Who devil made thee a wright,
God give him evil to fayre
Of hand to have such slight
To make ship less or more perfect,
Men should have heard wide where
When you began to smite.

NOAH DICAT.

Yes dame it is God's will,
Let be so thou not say,
Go make an end I will,
And come again full throng.

UXOR DICAT.

By my faith I no rake
Whether thou be friend or foe,
The devil of hell thee speed,
To ship when thou shalt go.

NOAH DICAT.

God send me help in high,
To clink yon nail too,
God send me help in high,
Your hand to hold again,
That all may well be done,
My strokes be not in vain.

ANGELUS DICAT.

God hath thee help hither send,
Thereof be thou right bold,
Thy strokes shall fair be kend,
For thou thy wife has cowld.

NOAH DICAT.

Now is this ship well made
Within and without thinks me,
Now home then will I wend
To fetch in my money,
Have good day both old and young,
My blessing with you be.

DEABOLUS DICAT.

All that is gathered in this stead,
That will not believe in me,
I pray to Dolphin prince of dead,
Scald you all in his lead
That never a one of you thrive nor thee.

Finis. Amen.

PAGE 161, LINE 12.

"A *Monstrar*, to bear in the Blessed Sacrament, of Silver and Gilt, with a crucifix of gold, weight 13 oz." was amongst the plate belonging to Melford Church, co. Suffolk, 1529, 21 Henry VIII. (Neale's Churches, No. xv.)

PAGE 191, LINES 13 AND LAST.

There can be no doubt that in conformity to this text the name of Judas Torches has arisen.—It will be found that *torches* are more frequent than cressets in the old representations of the betraying of Christ, and the expences in some Pageant that included this incident in the Passion would most probably mention the Judas Torches. In the French Mystery of the Passion, one of the party tells Judas that he would be supplied liberally with lights.

" Alumer torches & flambeaux,
Brandons et fallots gran et hautz,
Bellez lanternes & tisons".

It is very probable that the Judasses were torches of a larger kind.

F. D.

Errata.

Page 6, line 7, for colloquentis, *read* colloquentes; and for finget, *read* fingit.
9, 8, for om̃ies, *read* om̃es.
11, 1, for Idem, *read* Leet Book.
13, 24, for Books, *read* Book.
23, 17, for peseverañse, *read* pseverañse.
26, 3, for prædicandum, *read* prædicandam.
—, 8, for tripudis, *read* tripudio.
121, 6 from bottom, for gesnie, *read* gesine.
145, 8, for lightly, *read* slightly.
158, note d, for vehicles, *read* articles.
174, line 5, for or, *read* nor.
206, 2, for schowyng, *read* schow?yng.

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

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Sharp, Thomas

Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry by trading Companies of that city

Coventry 1825

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